Kingship in the Śukra-Nīti

Vandana Nagar

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FOREWORD

Max Muller's well known tribute to Indian knowledge in his *India, What can it teach us* can, in my view, be an apt foreword for this splendid work on *Śukra-Nīti*

"If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country (where) the human mind has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions to some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato or Kant—I should point to India "

It is not for self-glorification or national chauvinism, but to claim in all humility that no other people on earth ever produced political theory of such striking originality and depth as *Śukra*, *Kauṭilya*, *Manu* and *Bhīsma* Normative political theory finds its expression *par excellence* in the classical literature, especially when it flows from the intuitive, experential wisdom of the holy men in the unique forms of *Śrutis* (legends) and *Smṛtis* (memories) before they got translated into more mundane types of scripts and prints

By a strange irony of fate, centuries of intellectual serfdom during Muslim invasion and British rule alienated the Indian intelligensia from the ancient cultural mainstream A period of self-forgetfulness hampered historiography Sanskrit, the eternal medium of Indian metaphysic and philosophy, acquired a backseat in educational planning Dependence on western knowledge, coupled with an acceptance of occidental superiority, made Indians suffer from an inferiority complex from where they have now to wriggle out Nevertheless, the Indian cultural tradition survived the dismal ages because of its light and vitality.

Happily, the sources of the Indian political tradition are now being tapped and it is becoming increasingly clear that the case paraded by scholars, such as, W A. Dunning, Paul Janet and G H. Sabine denying early India any contribution to the science of politics, stands refuted. Substitute the word 'state' for the word 'king' in the *Śukra-Nīti* and the whole panorama of the theory of the state and the principles of governance unfold themselves in all their splendour.

Sir Monier Williams observed in his *Brahmanism and Hinduism* that "the Hindus were Spinozites more than two thousand years before Spinoza, Darwinians many centuries before Darwin, and evolutionists many centuries before any word like evolution existed in any language in the world." We have the roots of materialism in *Chārvāka's* literature and the origins of rationalism in the *Sāmkhya* philosophy *Kapila*, the founder of the *Sāmkhya* system of philosophy, was indeed the predecessor of Plato, the Rationalist. Professor E W. Hopkins established that "Plato is full of Sāmkhya thought, worked out by him, but taken from Pythagoras" who, in turn, had a direct link with the Indian thought-stream Thus, the claim that the Greeks were the fathers of political science seems pretentious Instead, India can rightly claim that title

It is in this context that an evaluation of Indian classics can be more meaningful. While the greatness of *Arthaśāstra* as a study in statecraft is universally acknowledged, it along with *Mahābhārata*, are the two most quoted and cited political texts that have appropriately drawn the attention of indologists. They truly are representative treatises in the science and art of polity in the same way that Manu's *Dharmaśāstra* is an exposition of the ethico-legal system.

Surprisingly, *Śukra-Nīti* has escaped notice of historians, social scientists, political theorists and indologists. I cannot account for the lack of attention to such a profound scripture solely devoted to matters of society and state. Except for a worthwhile attempt at translation into English with annotations by the late Benoy Kumar Sarkar, which is now not only out of print but is unreadable because of its archaic style, we remain completely in the dark with regard to its relevance and contributions to political science. Even historian, like A L. Basham, scarcely mentions it in his *magnum opus, The Wonder that was India*. Nor does Brian Brown extract a piece from it in his compilation *Wisdom of the Hindus*. Jayaswal, Altekar, Ghoshal casually refer to it in obscure footnotes.

This is, therefore, a matter of great satisfaction that an upcoming scholar, Vandana Nagar, has taken up the task of expounding

the various aspects of *Śukra-Nīti* centred around the study of kingship in its institutionalized form and function She has done a lot of spadework in systematically organising the available material on the subject. She has amply demonstrated that the *Śukra-Nīti* is more a political text than a religious scripture It stands *at par* with Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* or the *Śānti-Parva* when judged in terms of its contribution to political theorising.

Of special significance, apart from highlighting the statecraft and administration, is the author's attempt to provide comparative assessment of *Śukra* with *Plato* and *Machiavelli*

But, above all, the relevance of *Śukra* to modern statecraft, especially to India, is exeedingly well brought out The work, in my view, forges an important intellectual link between tradition and modernity of Indian politics

The question of value-based politics *versus* stark Machiavellianism, as a challenge, stares directly into our face And on this, the *Śukra-Nīti* can surely provide the necessary norms and structures for the existing, uneasy and ramshackle, political system inspired by imitative ideals, in its search for legitimacy

I trust the present work will create enormous interest among scholars exploring in-depth the value and relevance of Indian classics to our times

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January 1, 1985

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PROLOGUE

Apart from the *Works* of Benoy Kumar Sarkar and a few scattered articles published in some historical and theoretical journals, no systematic study or analysis of the text of the *Śukra-Nīti* as a political treatise has been attempted so far. Scholars have mostly reflected on the genius of Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra*, which, by itself, is a highly rewarding exercise as it also sets a pattern for the study of other equally profound thinkers But a study-in-depth of *Śukra-Nīti* awaits its turn.

The literal meaning of the word *Śukra* is radiant and the planet Venus is also referred to as *Śukra* However, in the Hindu mythology, *Śukra* and *Bṛhaspati*, are known as the expounders of Hindu polity Whereas *Bṛhaspati* was the preceptor of the gods, *Śukra* was the teacher of demons in the science of polity. There are various anecdotes connected with these two renowned teachers of the Hindu theology

In the early Vedic literature, '*Uśanas*' and '*Kāvya*', frequently occur and these two names are linked with wisdom and politics. *Uśanas* is accorded high respect which is evident from the *Bhagvadgītā* wherein *Uśanas* is regarded the greatest of the learned—*Kavīnām Uśanā Kaviḥ*" In the later literature *Śukra* is a common name and is also known by another name *Bhārgava* because he was the son of *Bhṛgu*. Thus, there are the four synonyms for *Śukra-Uśanas, Kāvya, Śukra* and *Bhṛgu*.

We are confronted with the problem whether these four names are of one and the same person or they are for different persons In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purānas, Śukra* and *Uśanas* are used interchangeably and it appears that *Śukra* and *Uśanas* mean one and the same person. There may be conflicting opinions with regard to the problem of the identity of *Śukra* but by the occurence of the word *Uśanas* in the *vedas*, which is yet another name for *Śukra*, it is evident

that there existed a very old tradition of the science of polity, deep-rooted in the *Vedas* which originated from *Uśanas* or *Kāvya* and in the later period popularly came to be known under the name of *Śukra*. Thus, the *Nīti* of Śukra has its roots in the *Vedas* and represents the sublime thoughts of ancient Hindu polity

A deeper insight into the text of *Śukra-Nīti* reveals *Śukra* as a dynamic author with a vision reflecting on problems of human character and politics His sound political philosophy has a radical orientation making it germane to the contemporary political situation For example, in placing reason over sacred authority, he anticipates the principle embodied in the present Constitution of the Indian Republic.

In the spirit of a social reformer, *Śukra* introduces a new basis and interpretation to the *Varna* system which subsequently degenerated into the caste-system by his advocacy of the principle of virtue and performance as the distinctive marks of the different castes. Here, curiously, he takes an unorthodox position and signifies a break from the traditional conservative theory of *Varna* In assigning to each individual a station in the social order, with corresponding duties and responsibilities, *Śukra* resembles *Plato*, who, also in his picture of the ideal state, provides for three classes of people the statesman, the warrior and the artisan labourer with duties peculiar to their stations. Subsequently, *Śukra's* king owes power not so much to heredity as to the qualities of head and heart

Yet another striking feature of the *Śukra-Nīti* is its re-affirmation of the principles of political science, especially, the theory of relationship between ethics and politics According to *Śukra*, political life is not independent of moral life because every political problem is basically a moral problem in the maintenance of the social order The state has the moral purpose to fulfil. It is the primary duty of the Prince in *Śukra's* system to maintain *Dharma* not only in the higher conceptions as the disinterested life of active duty, but also in its conventional sense as the duty prescribed to an individual by his station in the social order

This has great usefulness in the present context when political morality is on the decline The virtue of self-discipline in rulers, who are supposed to set examples to others in behaviour and conduct, is sadly lacking today *Śukra's* prescription that discipline should percolate downwards from the king to the subjects *via* administrative officials has an immense political value for today The focal point in the thinking of *Śukra*, therefore, is that legitimate political power is always seen to be in the manifestation of personal virtues The ruler's own behaviour constitutes a model for he rules through the affulgence of his virtues and not through positivistic means

Whereas *Machiavelli* often sacrifices ethics to political expediency, *Śukra's* principles, generally speaking, have firmer basis in morality. In his conception of statehood and kingship, *Śukra* inclines towards *Plato* and *Aristotle* who regarded the state as a moral institution and attempted a moralisation in individual ends through the benevolent agency of the state. To *Machiavelli*, the state was supreme, but to *Śukra*, the state was subordinated to the society which it did not create but which it existed to secure.

Śukra reflects a true conception of democracy in which the king is the servant of the people and there is no room for the possibility of tyranny of force compelling unquestioned obedience to the state. In stressing the king's duties towards the people that the king should seek his happiness in the happiness of his subjects and his welfare in theirs, and that the king's good lies in not what pleases himself but what pleases his subjects, *Śukra's* reasoning in his theory of the state shows some similarity to *Hobbes* in comparison to *Hegel* or *Spinoza*.

Śukra emphasises that the king is to regard himself as an agent of the people and has to abide by laws as laid down in the *Sāstras* or embodied in social customs which comprise both a political constitution and an ethical norm. *Śukra's* king, therefore, like a modern democrat, is guided by his ministers in the practical work of administration. His king cannot rule by brute force alone. Tyrants, according to *Śukra*, having lost their heads and falling into temper, were deposed or exiled by the righteous indignation of their subjects. Within

these prescribed restraints on the governmental system, it was very difficult for a king to assume absolute and despotic power Thus, the form of government *Śukra* commended was *Sachivatantra* which is nothing else but the government by the aristocracy of intellect analogous to *Plato's* conception of government by the philosophers.

Thus, though *Śukra* belonged to a period when monarchical system of government was in vogue, his views sound modern in the context of present-day democracy. He advises his king that in his understanding of political interests, he should not act unilaterally but should always take ministers into confidence An arbitarary king or a despotic one soon gets estranged and is alienated from the *Rāṣṭra* and becomes the cause of national miseries Accordingly, *Śukra* advises his king always to keep in touch with the grassroots by inspecting personally every village, district, province, town and city and acquire empirical knowledge of his subject's pleasure and displeasure with his officers. In *Śukra's* term, happiness of the people is the sole end of the state. He, therefore, does not hesitate in recommending to the king the expulsion of an officer, or a minister, who does not serve the people and is accused by one hundred men for irresponsibility.

Another note-worthy point in *Śukra* is his belief that man is the architect of his own fate and is responsible for his *dharma* and, therefore, must be a voluntary agent regulating his own work by his own initiative and not at the will of other agents, e.g , time and place. He, therefore, emphatically states that the king is the maker of his age He creates the spirit of his age He is the cause of setting on foot the customs, usages and movements and, hence, the king is designated as *Kālasyakāraṇam*, the creator of the epochs

Viewed in the modern context, *Śukra* assumes significance. for, he inculcates the spirit of intergration when he observes that the state is not a loose conglomeration of independent units but a living organism depending upon co-operation and co-ordination of its different constituents.

Thus, *Śukra* has made a great contribution to the enunciation of the concept of kingship. Scholars have worked on the nature, power and the position of king in ancient India. But the concept of the king, as propounded by *Śukra*, has not yet been properly projected. By going through the text of the *Śukra-Nīti* the political philosophy of *Śukra* may be regarded as 'rationalistic legalism', for, he in his treatise *Śukra-Nīti* dwells distinctly and exclusively on the secular side of life.

In my attempt of the study of *Śukra's* king, I make no claim for originality. However, I have tried my best to arrange the available scattered material on the subject in a systematic, coherent form, at the same time, taking adequate care that the process of systematisation does not involve any injustice to or distortion of his original concepts and themes. Further, I have attempted to assess to what extent *Śukra's* views can be useful and relevant in the context of modern political theory. In this regard, it is instructive to find certain similarities and dissimilarities between *Śukra* and eminent western thinkers like, *Plato*, *Aristotle* and *Machiavelli*. Thus, it is intended here to explore the views of *Śukra* on kingship and statecraft on a comparative basis which has escaped the attention of scholars.

My study of *Śukra's* king is based on the original Sanskrit text of the *Śukra-Nīti* and its English translation by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. His translation, as well as his interpretation of the text in the foot-notes, served as a workable model for which I acknowledge his debt.

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—VANDANA NAGAR

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ABBREVIATIONS

A B	Aitareya Brāhmana
A D S.	Apastamba Dharma Sutra
A S	Artha Śāstra
A V.	Atharva Veda
B.U	Brhadāranyaka Upanisad
D K C.	Daśa Kumāra Carita
D.N.	Dīgha Nikāya
G.D S.	Gautam Dharma Sutra
K.N S	Kāmandakīya Nītisāra
K S	Kāma Sutra
M B	Mahābhārata
Mb A.	Mahābhārata, Aranyaka
Mb.A.P.	Mahābhārata, Anśāsana Parva
Mb S P.	Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva
Mb.U P.	Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva
M.S	Manu Smrti
R A K.	Rāmāyana Aranya Kānda
R V.	RgVeda
S N	Śukra-Nīti
Sp B.	Śatapatha Brāhmana
Sk.P.	Skanda Purāna
S.Y.S.	Śukla Yajurveda Samhitā

References of the *Śukra-Nīti* in the notes are from Chowkhamba, Varanasi edition, 1968.

I

SUKRA NĪTI

Indian Epistemology and Science of Politics

According to the Indian tradition, knowledge has been classified as follows[1]

Ānvīksikī	(Philosophy)
Trayī	(Theology)
Vārtā	(Economics)
Danda Nīti	(Political Science)

Different scriptures have, however, given varying nomenclature to the science of politics The earlier classics have used the general caption *Dharma* to designate the normative and functional state. But the epics, like the *Mahābhārata*, have qualified the word *Dharma* by adding a prefix '*Rāja*' making it *Rājadharma*

Rāja-dharma : *Rājadharma* was an integral part and the most important theme of *Dharmaśāstra* The *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*[2] states that after discussing the *dharmas* of other *varnas*, there should be a specific discussion of the '*Dharmas* of a king in particular' Monarchy being the normal form of government, the science of state and politics was, therefore, naturally called *Rājadharma* which literaly means the science dealing with the duties and functions of the king

Dandanīti : Another name of the science of politics is *Dandanīti*, which, like *Rājadharma*, is also self-explanatory Ancient law-makers believed that the ultimate sanction behind the state is [illegible] force [illegible] *danda*.

It is *Danda* which rules over all the subjects, it is *Danda* which protects them, when all else are sleeping, *Danda* keeps awake Law is nothing but *Danda* itself[3] The *Mahābhārata*[4] says that "*Dandanīti* controls the four *Varnas* so as to lead them on to the performance of their duties and when it is employed by the ruler properly it makes them desist from *Adharma*" The *Nītisāra*[5] states that "*Dama* (control or chastisement) is called *Danda* The king is called *Danda* because control is centred in him The Nīti (Rules) of *Danda* is called *Dandanīti*"

To Śukra *Danda* establishes law and order in society and this brings about a natural tendency in the average individual to obey the law of the land The entire social well-being is, thus, dependent upon *Danda*[6] *Dandanīti*, in this way, deals with the totality of social, political and economic relationship and indicates how they are to be properly organised and integrated with one another Accordingly, the *Mahābhārata*,[7] which uses the terms *Rājadharma* and *Dandanīti* interchangeably eulogising *Dandanīti*, observes that it is the special concern of the king and without *Dandanīti* the whole world would break all bounds

Arthaśāstra · Arthaśāstra is yet another term applied to political science Significantly, the renowned master of political science, Kautilya, named his *magnum opus* as *Arthaśāstra*. The usual meaning of the term *Artha* is wealth and so the term *Arthaśāstra* should mean the science of wealth or economics and not the science of government But *Kāmasūtra*[8] defines *Artha* as "education lands, gold, cattle, corn, domestic utensils and friends and the augmenting of what is acquired" Thus, the scope of science, dealing with the *Artha*, is not confined to the matters of money alone but covers also in its range the territory and the people

Kautilya uses the word *Artha* in a wider sense and states that the *Artha* deals with acquiring and guarding the earth The term *Artha*, apart from material wealth, denotes the territory also where the people live together. The *Arthaśāstra*, therefore, according to Kautilya, is the science which deals with the acquisition and protection or governance of territory[9] Whatever may be the original meaning of the term *Artha*, there seems to be a general acceptance of this term in the sense of 'the science of politics'

Nītiśāstra Another popular term for the science of government is *Nītiśāstra* and Śukra designates his treatise as *Nīti* The term *Nīti* is derived from the root *Nī*, to lead,—'*Nayanāt Nīti rucyate*' [10] Nīti, therefore, means proper guidance or direction The *Mahābhārata*[11] says that *Nītiśāstra* sets forth all those means whereby people are prevented from forsaking the right path Śukra also observes that if the king is not a perfect guide, his subjects will get into trouble just as a boat without the helmsman sinks into sea [12] If the monarch proceeds according to the dictates of *Naya* (Nīti, justice) he can supply himself as well as the subjects with *Trivargas* or virtue, wealth and enjoyment Thus, the *Nītiśāstra* is a manual or science which provides direction or guidance to the king to administer the state lawfully

Why Śukra chose NĪTI as the title ?

Let us now examine why Śukra chose the term *Nīti* for his treatise when there were other well-known terms, such as, *Rājadharma*, *Danda* and *Artha* Śukra differed from his contemporaries in his attitude towards politics Like Aristotle[13], *Śukra* wanted to orientate his work as a policy science, especially devoted to the management of society towards ethical goals He holds that the supreme good is the object of the state and that good is related to the life of the citizens A theory of politics, thus, must be also a theory of society and a theory of human life, It must take into account all forces that make men behave as they should, and not merely political and economic forces and objectives. It must start with the community of men as a whole Man must be teachable, changeable and perfectible Thus, the conception of political science is based on associating and integrating humanity It is the main branch of ethics and sociology It has to solve or deal with most of the problems of ethics and, especially, the vexed ones concerning our relations with our fellowmen

Politics, thus, in the rational sense, is the art of organising and managing human beings living in association as inhabitants of a country. It has to deal with human beings endowed with moral consciences possessing freedom and power of choice It cannot, therefore, confine itself merely to economic and political regulations It must ultimately concern itself with the fundamental considerations of ethics

The extent to which an individual can attain the ideal of moral life is greatly affected by the character of social organisation, the political system and the educational spirit underlying it Thus, politics cannot be divorced from ethics It becomes the guardian and vindicator of justice and liberty of social assurance and emancipation It is founded essentially on certain moral principles necessary for society and certain moral qualities to be possessed by rulers, administrators, citizens and subjects It has, therefore, not only political but also a moral and educational aspect It deals with the right mode of behaviour and action both in social and individual terms It lays down the duties and functions of men and rules of restraints or punishment for their breach Thus, political science, as held by Śukra, *'Nayanāt Nīti'* sets the man and society on the right path, leads them to right direction and can, therefore, be appropriately termed as *Nīti* śāstra[14] Accordingly, he names his work *Nīti* in place of *Artha* which is connected with the science of economic grouping rather than with the promotion of moral relations between various units of society

As Śukra emphasises that morality is necessary for an over-all prosperity of people and the state *Rāṣṭra*, his *Nītiśāstra* is connected with the *Dharmaśāstra* or the science of social solidarity and he follows the tradition of politics in which righteousness or *Dharma* implies and connotes a comprehensive code of behaviour and attitude necessary to maintain peace and order. Śukra remarks that one should learn from *Śāstra* what are good and evil actions, give up evil deeds and perform good ones.[15] The king is, accordingly, declared to be the cause of good or evil times depending on whether be performs evil or good acts. He asserts that the legitimacy and recognition of political power depends upon certain moral qualities of a ruler and his observance of moral and social code The principle of political obligation, Śukra claims, assumes norms of morality.

It is imperative, therefore, for a ruler to rule according to *Nīti* or *Dharma* implying moral standards If the monarch proceeds according to the dictates of *Nyāya*—Nīti or justice, says Śukra, he can supply himself as well as the subjects with the *Trivarga*, virtue, wealth and enjoyment,

otherwise he destroys himself and the subjects [16] Thus, Śukra rightly names his work *Nīti Śāstra* or a science of social justice and morality which leads the ruler and the ruled to right direction He prefers not to title it as *Artha Śāstra*, the term which is tilted more towards wealth and economy than towards morality[17].

Wisdom of the Nītiśāstra

Acknowledging the usefulness of the *Nītiśāstra*, Śukra[18] considers it as means for the preservation of human society *(Loka-sthiti)* and people's welfare *(Loka hita)* While other sciences are devoted to single aspect of human affairs[19], they deal exclusively with topics related to that aspect in a subjective manner They, therefore, have limited usefulness in that these sciences have no utility for persons in day-to-day life But, on the contrary, without *Nīti*, or the system of moral philosophy, the stability of human affairs cannot be maintained In the same way, as without food, the physical body of man cannot be maintained and preserved[20].

Nitiśāstra is specially useful to princes for they hold in their hands the destiny of the people, and, hence the science that is calculated to promote human happiness has to be carefully mastered by them [21] By knowing *Nītiśāstra*, rulers can be victorious over foes, affectionate and conciliatory towards subjects and well-up in the art of state-craft [22] According to Benoy Sarkar, it has three-fold uses It gives policies about enemies, friends and neutrals It teaches the art of winning over the hearts of the subjects and also performs the work of psychology and ethics by studying human interests and motives as well as the ways of dealing with men And finally, it offers lessons on diplomacy and political activities, in general, by which the king can be an able pilot of the ship of the state [23]

Śukra, therefore, exhorts the kings to be well-adapted and trained in *Nīti* In order that the whole state may be productive of goods and comforts to the people, *Nīti* must be maintained and followed by the king for his own interests [24] The king who follows *Nīti* is well respected, but the king who does not follow it is not honoured Where there are both *Nīti* and *Bala*, there flourishes alround prosperity [25] Śukra

is so enthusiastic about the greatness of the *Nītiśāstra* that he believes that the primary function of the king, such as, the protection of subjects, cannot be achieved without *Nīti*[26] Therefore, the absence of *Nīti* is always dangerous to a king like a vessel which leaks It multiplies and satisfies enemies and causes the diminution of strength and efficiency[27] Of the prince who does not follow *Nīti*, the kingdom is weakened, the army is inefficient and the civil service is disorganised and other elements of the state get topsyturvy In short, evil prevails everywhere [28]

Nītiśāstra, thus, as held by Śukra, is the science which regulates social, economic and political life In snort, it covers all the departments of human activity *Nītiśāstra* is not simply a treatise on polity but a synthetic, comprehensive and generalised science and art of society and a system of social, economic and political morals It is a competent guide on the art of living. It is, therefore, a *sine qua non* for the stability and progress of society in all directions The great epic, *Mahābhārata* sums up . "when politics becomes lifeless, the triple *Veda* sinks, all the *Dharma* (the bases of civilisation) developed completely decay When traditional state-ethics are departed from, all the bases of the division of individual life are shattered In politics are realized all the forms of renunciation, in politics are united all sacraments, in politics are combined all knowledge, in politics are centred all the worlds "[29]

The Creation of the Nītiśāstra

As stated earlier, *Nīti* was considered as an integral part of *Dharma Śāstra*. Yet apart from the works on the *Dharma Śāstra*, separate treatises dealing with *Nīti* alone came into existence in very early times *Brahmā*[30] composed a work in 10,00,00 chapters on *dharma, artha, kāma* and *moksa*. The part of this work on *Nīti* was abridged by *Śankara Viśālāksa* into 10,000 chapters. *Indra* reduced it to 5000 chapters [31] It was compressed into 3000 chapters by Brhaspati and *Kāvya* (*Uśanas*) reduced the work to 1000 chapters.[32] The *Nītiprakāśikā*[33] states that Brahmā, Maheśvara, Skanda, Indra, Prācetasa, Manu, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Bhārdwāja, Veda-Vyāsa, and Gaurasiras were the expounders of *Rajaśāstra* (political science). *Brahmā* composed

a work on *Rājaśāstrā* in 100000 chapters which was gradually reduced in size by each of the above mentioned founders until *Nīti*[34] states that Gourasiras reduced it to 500 chapters and Vāysa to 300 The *Śukra Nīti* states that *Brahmā* composed *Nītisāra* into one crore verses, which was subsequently abridged by *Vaśistha* and others

The Date of the Śukranīti

Thus, the name of Sukra is associated with *Brahmā* and *Bṛhaspati*, the original expounders of the *Nītiśāstra* But whether the extant work on politics, entitled, *Śūkra Nīti*, which is ascribed to Śukra, is the creation of the same Śukra, referred to above, or is a work based and recast on old work, cannot be definitely confirmed Scholars differ with regard to the date of the present *Śukra Nīti* and place it from 4th century A D. to 8th century A D K P Jayaswal[35] is of the view that the book ascribed to Śukra is a revised edition of an earlier well-known work, probably based on the ancient *Uśanasa Danda Nīti* A S Altekar[36], on the basis of internal evidences that the *Mlechchhas* resided in the North West of India and the reference to *Sāmantas* as both feudatories and officials, the reference to the *Advaita Vedānta* doctrine of Śankara, arrives at the conclusion that 'the book as a whole belongs to the period between 900 and 1200 A D '

U N Ghoshal[37] observes, 'since the author knows the Yavanas (Muslims) as living apart from the four primary as well as the mixed castes and inhabiting the North-West region and mentions in another context (IV 849—62) no less than nine kinds of forts and enumerates later arms of warfare, explosive weapons as well as the processes of manufacturing gun-powder and cannon ball, the *Śukra Nītisāra* is, therefore, a comparatively late work which must be assigned to a period not later than the thirteenth century ' Ghoshal[38] gives another forceful argument in arriving at the above conclusion that Sukra's work is not quoted by any of the authors of the great medieval Digests of *Rāja Dharma* while Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*, by contrast, is quoted by *Nīlakanṭha* in his *Nīti Mayūkha* Lallanji Gopal[39] establishes with arguments and on the basis of the comparative study of the volumes of East India Company Regulations that the *Śukra Nīti* is a forged work belonging to as late as Nineteenth century. But Dr Gustav Oppert[40]

has been inclined to ascribe the *Śukra Nīti* to the same period which produced the *Smṛtis* and early Epic literature R G Pradhan and S N Mukherjee are also in favour of regarding the *Śukra Nīti* as an older work than Kautilya's *Arthasastra* R G Pradhan observes[41] that the fact that the *Śukra Nīti* is highly praised by the *Kāmandakīya*, another but less important treatise on polity, and that many verses from it are quoted in the latter, clearly proves that the age of the *Śukra Nīti* must be anterior to that of the *Kāmandakīya*

Now, with regard to the age of the *Kāmandakīya*, Dr Frederic remarks as follows in a report submitted by him to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences on the Sanskrit literature of the Island of Bali, "It would, therefore, follow that the Sanskrit works now available in Bali including the *Kāmandakiya Nīti* are of date anterior to the 4th century A D " Pradhan, on this ground, arrives at the conclusion that it would not, therefore, be wide of the mark to conclude that the *Śukra Nīti* must have been written sometime before the 4th Century A D S N Mukherjee[42] thinks that since Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* opens with salutation to Śukra and Brhaspati-'*Om Namah Śukra Brhaspatibhyām*', it is certainly an older work than Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* The date of the Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* according to Shama Shastri is to be fixed between 321 to 300 B C. Thus, the date of the *Śukra Nīti*, can be stretched as far back as 4th Century B C In this way, scholars like A K Mazumdar[43] and Lallanji Gopal dismiss the *Śukra Nīti* as modern forgery and place it as low as 19th Century text. Gustave Oppert, R G Pradhan and Dr B K Sarkar regard the *Śukra Nīti* as an old work and scholars like A S Altekar, U N Ghoshal place *Śukra Nīti* in late period of 10th century A D It is difficult to reach any authentic conclusion on this controversy with regard to the origin of the *Śukra Nīti* However, it is dificult to accept Lallanji Gopal's thesis because of evidences against it.

Later Sanskrit works, like the *Budha-Carita*[44], the *Daśakūmara Carita*[45] regard Śukra as one of the great exponent of the science of polity and in the beginning of the book, *Śukra Nīti* [46], it is stated that Śukra, the offspring of *Bhṛgu*, questioned by *Asuras*, his disciples, gave them a discourse on the essence of morals in the logical order. For the good of man, *Brahmā*, the self-created Lord, spoke the treatise on morals which contained 10 million *Ślokas and Śukra*, like *Vaśiṣṭha* and others,

compiled, in an abridged form, an extensive thesis of *Brahamā* for the increase of the prosperity of the rulers and the ruled

It is evident from the above that there existed definitely a treatise on polity by Śukra which was a manual of guidance to kings and statesmen and the Bible of Demons The *Mahābhārata* in *Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva* (57.103) quotes a verse by the name of *Usanas*[47], another synonym of Śukra, which is found in the present *Śukra Nīti*[48] in the same form in which we find it quoted in the *Mahābhārata* The way in which Sukra is referred to, and accorded respect[49], shows that his was a unique and unparalleled work on politics which was based on ancient treatises[2]. Unfortunately, the original work of Śukra might have been lost and the present work appears to be the replica of the ancient work. It may be that there might have been some interpolations, as is common with almost all the texts of Sanskrit, which make some scholars believe it to be of a later date But the ideas enshrined in the present text certainly are very old Thus, the present *Śukra Nīti* can be regarded as an old wine in a new bottle.

Contents of the Śukra Nīti

The extant *Śukra Niti* consists of five chapters. The first chapter deals with the duties and functions of princes, the second with the functions of the crown prince and the other state-dignitaries and the third, with general rules of morality meant to be observed by the king and his men. The fourth, larger chapter, which is divided into seven sub-sections, is concerned with the characteristics of the king's friends or allies, the royal treasure, arts and sciences, customs and institutions, king's duties and functions, forts and soldiery. The fifth is a supplimentary and miscellaneous chapter in which the rules of morality laid down in the *Śaśtra* that promote the welfare of the seven organs of the state as well as the people are discussed.

Thus, the *Śukra Nīti* is a comprehensive work whose political part deals with the state-council, ministers, jurisprudence and international law. The non-political part of the book is concerned with architecture, sculpture, manners and morals, pedagogy and economics. The work is of great significance as it, in its wide range, covers salient features of polity, as well as social and religious laws enjoined in the *Dharmaraśātras*.

2

RELEVANCE

In a search for modernity in Śukra's writings, one is struck by Śukra's pragmatism as also his radical and progressive approach towards contemporary social and political problems, especially in the context of India. In the evolution of Indian polity since early times, there has been an undeniable interaction between tradition and modernity in the political and social spheres Any understanding of India's political system, as it operates today, demands a sharp insight into the cultural, ethnic and historical factors which go to make up India's identity Refusal to do so would tend to lead us into misconceptions and would adversely affect solutions of problems

Since monarchy was the accepted form of government in those times, it is commonly believed that the king was a despot and an autocrat with absolute powers. Śukra's treatment of monarchy dispels such a notion Instead of stressing the principle of heredity as the basis of political power, Śukra in conformity with the Indian tradition, asserts the qualities and virtues which go to make a king liberal, enlightened and democratic.

The king is not respected so much because of his ancestry as for his qualities like prowess, strength and valour[1]. He strongly says that the king, though born in high family, should be deserted if he is lacking in virtues because such a king ruins the state[2]. Śukra's view that even the king who is proficient in all the sciences and pastmaster in statecraft should never, by himself, study political problems

without reference to ministers[3] is very near to our present-day democratic set-up where the prime minister cannot take decisions on important political and national issues all alone without consulting his cabinet colleagues There is democratic complexion in the thinking of Śukra when he asserts that the wise ruler should ever abide by the well thought out decisions of councillors, office bearers, subjects and members attending a meeting and never by his own opinions[4] Like a modern civilised man, Śukra is against dictatorship, autocracy and tyranny He warns the king of worst consequences when he adopts a dictatorial attitude in public affairs He does not hesitate to censure the king as a robber and exploiter of people's wealth when he, without listening to the counsels of ministers, acts unilaterally[5]

Another pertinent point which closely resembles the current political perception is Śukra's assumption of the authority of the people as the ultimate source of political power Here is the democratic theory in disguise The ruler, according to him, has been given the status of a servant of the people, with his revenue as his wages He observes that the ruler has been made a servant of the people by *Brahmā* getting his revenue as remuneration[6].

Śukra is radical in thinking when he observes that the monarch who is arbitrary and follows his own will becomes the cause of miseries and soon gets not only estranged from his kingdom but also is alienated from his people [7] Democracy implies that elected leaders who lose their links with grass-roots get estranged from public life. As in the democratic set-up, it is the majority which works, so no single individual, in Śukra's view, however powerful, can match the unity of opinion possessed by the sovereign many The majority of opinion is like a combination of many threads which is strong enough to drag a lion [8]

Another noteworthy point, which reflects the trend of modernity and social awakening in the *Śukra Nīti*, is that, in contrast with the dominant orthodox dogma on the origin of social order that society is a divine institution ordained by the Divine Will, Śukra emphasises the

essentially human basis of the social organisation The key to the author's attitude on this point is found in his whole-hearted acceptance of the doctrine of *Karma*[9]

The iron law of *Karma* acts powerfully as nothing else does, in shaping destiny as also causing good and bad conditions on this earth. This fundamental concept of *Karma* is applied by Śukra to the origin of class distinction and social division Sukra observes that one does not become a *Brāhmana* or a *Ksatriya* or a *Vaiśya* or a *Śūdra* or a barbarian by his caste *Jāti*, but these differences are derived from their respective characters, *Gunas* and deeds, *Karmas*[10] Not all of those who sprung from *Brahmā* are *Brāhmans* and the *Brāhmana's* strength is not derived from his distinctive caste or from his parentage[11] *Brāhmanas*, *Ksatriyas*, *Vaisyas*, *Śūdras* and barbarians are marked by differences of intellectual and moral qualities as well as *Karma* Sukra holds firmly that virtue as well as past-merit, instead of birth, is key to the origin of class divisions[12] Society, as thus conceived by Sukra, is essentially a human association consisting of groups divided according to their deserts. Emphasising, thus, Sukra illustrates that the great sages *Viśvāmitra, Vaśistha, Matanga, Nārada* and others became great not through their birth, but through their supreme austerities[13]

Thus, Sukra openly discards the generally accepted view that the caste goes by birth and describes the castes in terms of their virtues and occupations and enumerates the various qualities of each He believes that work, character and merit are to be respected. Superiority, accordingly, is not established by caste or family alone. Hence, he advises the king that in the appointment of his servants, considerations of caste or family should not matter. Men, having qualities required for their respective posts, should be appointed irrespective of their castes[14]. Sukra does not hesitate to say that a person from any caste be appointed even on the post of commander of army except when he is valorous[15] Fighting is not solely the duty of *Brāhmana* or *Ksatriya* but it is the duty of four main castes as well as of the mixed castes This is surely a radical departure from the accepted caste ethics and thesis.

As a corollary of the doctrine of *Karma*, there spiings in the *Śukra Nīti* an important dimension relevant to modern society. Happiness and strength stem from the performance of one's own duty and add to social integration Not to speak of mortals, even the gods become the servants of one who constantly performs his distinctive duties[16]. Sukra applies this principle of the performance of duties equally to all whether he be king or a person at the lowest ladder of the social order He says, when one becomes a king, whether consecrated or not, he should be devoted to his distinctive duty, for otherwise his strength would suffer[17] By implication, performance of duties is the best sefeguard for rights. This is a doctrine worth consideration in the context of the Indian Constitution's provision of the supremacy of rights over duties

Śukra is very secular in thinking and his views are relevant to modern times when he observes that one should not violate the good usage of regions, families and relatives, nor should one, though able, violate even in thought the popular usages [18] The good king should maintain, for the purpose of protection of his kingdom, the usages of castes, regions, guilds, families, for, otherwise, the people would be disaffected Sukra illustrates a number of unorthodox practices prevalent among the people in different parts of the country and advises the king that he should not unnecessarily interfere with them[19]. Those who observe their ancestral and traditional usages do not thereby become blame-worthy, but they become so by acting to the contrary.

Sukra comes very close to our times when he advises the king to operate the laws in actual practice The king should constantly issue among his subjects the edicts by beat of drum and they should be exhibited in writing at the junction of four roads[20] Thus, the provision in the *Śukra Nīti* about wide publicity to state orders, by posters in public places is very modern. Further, the advice of Śukra to the king that he should receive in written form the opinions of each of his ministers separately lends support to this theory[21].

In earlier legal works, though the king is advised to consult his ministers yet we nowhere find any reference to his asking for their

written opinions Generally earlier works on polity show that the king should seek the ministers' advice separately and in secret which indicates that the king was to consult his ministers orally *Śukra Nīti* dismisses the concept of oral orders altogether and postulates that every administrative measure should be based on a written order [22] The state-servant is not to do anything without the king's written order, nor should the king command anything great or small without a written order The approach of Sukra that the written document with the king's seal is the real king, the king is not a mere personal king[23], fully corresponds to present day bureaucratic and administrative procedure The system envisaged in the *Śukra Nīti* which requires an *Amātya*, prince or other officers to submit a written report of the work for which they have been appointed once a day, month or year or after many years is characteristically modern [24]. Śukra further suggests that the officer should keep a memorandum or pieces of the written orders passed by the king, for with time men forget or confuse things [25] Śukra envisages an administrative procedure like that of modern secretariat by which a document goes through succession of officers before it receives the approval of the king

The labour laws in the *Śukra Nīti* are remarkably modern in outlook. The text anticipates radical ideas of a popular welfare-state by voicing the need for an equitable rate of wages for labourers. Moderate remuneration is said to be that which supplies the indispensable needs for food and clothing [26] Good wages are those by which food and clothing are adequately supplied. Low wages are those by which only one person can be maintained.[27]. Wages are to be so fixed that the worker may maintain those who are totally dependent on him

Sukra is very realistic in his approach when he observes that workers getting low wages become enemies by nature, auxilliaries to others and always look for opportunities for trouble and are plunderers of treasure and people.[28] He, therefore, as in modern times, recommends provisions which give benefits to servants. He provides for leave of absence for recreation and on the occasion of festivities. The servant is given sick-leave benefit also If the illness lasts for half a

fortnight, no part of wages is to be deducted A servant of one-year service is not to be dismissed during sickness After five year's service a servant is entitled to three months, earned leave on full pay A servant is entitled to receive a respite of fifteen days in a year which significantly compares with the modern rules about casual leave in the administrative services Like the modern bonus system, a servant is to receive one-eighth of his salary by way of reward every year [29] These are formulations which confirm the then existing concept of the welfare state

The economic order reflected in the *Śukra Nīti* resembles the trend found in the capitalistic society of modern times Śukra seeks good investment of surplus capital Loans are thought of as contracted for productive investment in business Śukra advises that a lender should advance money to a merchant who intends to start a business and without demanding interest should enter the business as a partner, sharing the profits equally [30] Śukra advises the king to pay interest on property in his custody which also reflects modernity, for, the present day government also pays interest to the capital which it borrows from public When Śukra defines the price (*Mūlya*) of the commodity as that by spending which one gets the possession of the commodity[31], he thereby strikes the modern definition of price as the exchange-value of a commodity and comes very close to present-day economic theory.

Śukra's views about judicial laws also reflect a progressive outlook Contrary to the old ideals that laws have lasting validity, Śukra speaks of the law undergoing changes and new enactments which override old injuctions [32] Śukra holds that it is obligatory on the part of officer dealing with judicial laws that he should study the old laws as well as the new ones, those that have been ordained in sacred texts, those opposed, and those which militate against the customs of the people [33] Śukra believes that owing to the difference in the opinion and the changing pattern of society, the law undergoes change every moment

Thus, on the basis of observation of the above facts, the democratic way of functioning of the king, stress on quality and work rather than on caste, strict adherence to one's own duty, respect of the king for the

prevalent usages, customs, old and new, emphasis on written documents, the labour and service laws, economic principles, law amendments, etc., it can be safely maintained that Śukra is radical in thinking and his views are progressive and are quite relevant to modern times His thought becomes especially relevant to the context of the present political situations of India, and the world at large, where the corruption in high places is undermining the moral fibre of our nation in all walks of life We need appropriate guidelines in statesmanship from leaders of Śukra's stature in order to pilot the ship of the state from the troubled waters On the whole, a study of Śukra's king is both revealing and rewarding for a deeper understanding of the problems of mankind, in general, and the issues of politics, in particular.

3

SUKRA AND WESTERN THINKERS

There are oft-repeated parallels, apparently remarkable coincidences, between oriental thinkers and their occidental counterparts. Such parallels have been drawn with regard to, say, between Kautilya and Machiavelli, Kautilya and Aristotle, and so on An effort is being made in this chapter to demonstrate certain similarities and dissimilarities between Śukra's doctrines *vis-a-vis* Machiavelli and Plato. Although comparisions are odious and hazardous since thinkers belonged to different times and locations, cultures and environments, nevertheless, such comparisons throw light on certain vital aspects of the science and art of politics.

These comparisons may be useful as the respective thinkers have cast their influence over minds and events Their vision and clarity in the reconstruction of the science of polity and their profound understanding of human nature and politics make them subjects of comparative study and analysis of universal significance [1] However, these comparisons do not go very far and several disparities begin to appear. For example, Śukra's essentially religious-spiritual disposition and the Greek's philosophical approach or Machiavelli's secular-materialistic position stand out to war against one another.

Plato's proposition of employment of four tutors designated 'most wise', 'most just', 'most temperate' and 'most brave' for the education of princes, compares well with Śukra's conception of government where he suggests that the mastery of one-self would lead to the mastery of everything else.

Śukra's king, as an ideal picture of morality, as one who adheres strictly to duty and good conduct, is drawn from his basic theory of ethical foundations of politics which, in some way, corresponds to the Hellenic theories of the state.

We have, therefore, to carefully examine the comparative position of Śukra, who insisted on the restoration of ethical values both in method and principle and western position of empirico-scientific methodology of treating facts as value-free Within these constraints, it appears useful to undertake a comparative study of Śukra and the western political thinkers

The problem of the realisation of the highest good of man and the way how best it can be achieved through the state shows an affinity between, the views of Śukra and the Greek thinkers, on the one hand, and the Indian classical predecessors, on the other Śukra, likewise, in presenting the virtuous image of the king that he should purge himself first from sins and then cleanse his people from vices[2], visualises the perfect and ideal state of Plato where justice is regarded as the highest good of man, and which can be performed when there is no selfishness and sin The Greek thought that the state should not care so much to ensure the material comforts of citizens as to enable them to lead a life of virtue Śukra equally emphasises that a noble king who keeps the people under moral obligation to their duties creates ideal relationships between the ruler and the ruled The ruler is the originator of good and he initiates customs, usages and movements for the welfare of the people and the state [3]

Unlike contemporary thinkers, Śukra does not think that the state is only a machinery for the protection of life and property. But like the Greek thinkers, Śukra is of the view that ethics and politics are inseparable and that the justice of the state and the justice of the individual are identical To quote Plato : "Justice, therefore, is a principle of this kind, its real concern is not with external actions, but with a man's inward self, his true concern and interest."[4]

According to Śukra, the political philosophy has an ethical way which regards the king as a moral institution and requires of him to

attain ultimate moral aim in his own life, in particular, as also in the life of people, in general [5] Śukra, therefore, lays great stress on restraint of senses—*Indriyajaya* He is required to carry on an unceasing fight against the six enemies of the monarch lust, avarice, pride, anger, drunkenness and insolence Consequently, it is necessary for the king to lead a strenuous life Ignorance and absence of discipline are the chief causes of all diseases of the body-politic The king, therefore, should be well-educated and trained to control senses He interprets the kingship in terms of ethics and seeks to determine the ruler's relation to moral constitution and development of the state Śukra agrees with moralist Greek thinkers in the view that both society and state have a moral end The end of government is the active promotion of virtue—of better and higher life, until it attains as much perfection as possible in this world Śukra comes closer to Greek thinkers and we find him constantly insisting upon the practice of virtue by the king and the subjects That the king may not deviate from the path of virtue and adhere to moral standards, he prescribes checks and limitations which keep him bound to the right track

Training in ethics of the *Vedas* and the *Dharma Śāstra* is as much compulsory for him as the efficiency in other sciences of practical use. He is constantly reminded and warned by the *Paurānika* legends that if and when he deviates from the path of virtue and duty, his fate will be that of *Vena, Nahusa, Sudāsa* and *Nemi* who perished for want of morality and virtue[6] Merits of morality are constantly eulogised with the illustrations of *Prthu, Manu* and *Kubera* who attained greatness and sovereignty only through observing virtues Śukra is emphatic that power comes to ruin the king if and when it is divorced from morality Cautious that the king may not go astray and do what he likes, Sukra prohibits him to take decisions on state-matters arbitrarily without taking into confidence his ministers and other religious and virtuous persons[7]. To keep a check on the king, Śukra exhorts people to throw him off when he falls prey to immorality and loses self-restraint [8] For, state is power and the real national prosperity is impossible with that power which is divorced from morality

But Śukra is not a moralist in an absolute sense In his ideology, the welfare of the state is the supreme objective. He, like Machiavelli,

supports expediency when the state is in danger of attack or is overpowered by the enemy In such situations, ordinary rules of morality and religion do not hold good Under the circumstances, the ruling king has to try his best to save the kingdom from going into the hands of the enemy He has to use shrewdly expediency and diplomacy In extripating the enemy, the king has to adopt diverse methods, according to the political situation prevalent, there and then. The king should not have faith in treaties and promises of the foe but always try to defeat him by hook and crook[9] Even deceit, backbiting, falsehood, and chicanery, normally regarded as immoral by him, become the sole religion, the sole truth and any other thing, however good from the angle of morality, would be irreligion and untruth.

Śukra, therefore, believing in the policy of 'once an enemy always an enemy', advises the king that he should study the enemy's state accepting service therein or by adopting the role of a trader and wait guardedly like the cat and the fowler and by creating confidence extirpate the enemy. Śukra categorically states that the self-intrerest of the king is the safety of the kingdom, which comes first The wise king, at the time of the attack by the enemy, should be indifferent to fame and name or glory and concentrate on the objective of defeating the enemy. Ends are more important than means, for it is folly to loose one's object.[10] Thus, there is no deviation from the path of morality if one kills the enemy in war by using deceitful war-methods Sukra illustrates his point by *Paurānika* references that in the past, the *Kūṭa* warfare was adopted even by persons as great as *Rāma Kṛsna, Indra* and other gods. It was through *Kūṭa* warfare that *Vali, Yavana* and *Namuci* were killed.[11] Thus, one should inspire confidence in the enemy by sweet smiling face, soft words, confession of guilt, service, gifts, humiliation, praise, good offices as well as oaths and break him when an opportunity comes like an earthen vessel [12] To quote Machiavelli, "Therefore one must be a fox in order to recognize traps, and a lion to frighten off wolves Those who simply act like lions are stupid. So, it follows that a prudent ruler cannot, and should not, honour his word when it places him at a disadvantage and when the reasons for which he made his promise no longer exist."[13]

Thus, Śukra comes close to the political ideology of Machiavelli where the end justifies the means Śukra, like him, believes that in the sphere of practical politics, adaptation to the environment to promote one's own interest and the employment of all those means which lead to the fulfilment of that objective are justified. When there is the question of existence, the untruth is as glorified as the truth Rules of morality are justified only when one is powerful and no body can harm him Thus, Śukra, like a wise statesman, never advocates the principle of universal truth in terms of absolute morality in the sphere of politics Moral values depend upon the exigencies of circumstances, the sole standard always being the promotion of social well-being and the preservation of a way of life, i e , the *Varna-Āśrama-Dharma.*

Śukra's notion of kingship is much more advanced than that of European thinkers, like St Paul, St. Peter, St Gregory and other Christian apostles who firmly uphold the divinity of the king Śukra does not predicate the divinity of every king Nor does he uphold the doctrine of divine rights of kings He does not believe that bad kings derive their authority from God as much as good kings, and they are sent by Him as a punishment for men's sins Whereas the European apostles think that every king, good or evil, is a representative of God, Śukra holds the view that it is only the good, virtuous king who is the representative of God, the evil king is the representative of Satan Speaking the language of the Chinese thinker Confucious, Śukra says that every king does not receive a mandate from heaven. Śukra as a moralist, makes a clear distinction between a good and bad king and distinctly maintains that it is only the good moralist king who is a part of gods and not the bad king who is a part of demons [14] It is only the good king who receives mandate from heaven and not the bad king To quote Plato : "What the expression (master of oneself) is intended to mean, I think, is that there is a better and a worse element in the personality of each individual, and that when the naturally better element controls the worse then the man is said to be master of himself, as a term of praise. But when (as a result of bad upbringing or bad company) the smaller forces of one's better element are overpowered by the numerical superiority of

one's worse, then one is adversely critisized and said not to be master of oneself or in a state of indiscipline [15]"

Thus, by the study of the views of Śukra on the concept of the king, we can conclude that he, like Plato, attaches importance to the virtues of wisdom, courage, temperance and justice which are regarded as the four cardinal virtues of the state As Plato observes that Justice is nothing but the principle that each man should pursue that one function for which he is fitted by nature, similarly Sukra also observes that peace and harmony can be maintained only when the king and his subjects stick to their respective duties Under such conditions, both Plato and Sukra suggest that each one will get his dues and each one will confine himself to the performance of the duties imposed on him by his station in life What Plato regards Justice, Sukra regards as *Dharma* Justice or *Dharma* is a bond which holds society together as a harmonious union of individuals in which each one of them has found his life and work in accordance with his natural fitness and training To quote Plato : "We laid down, if you remember, and have often repeated that in our State one man was to do one job, the job he was naturally most suited so far" [16] Like Plato, Sukra also holds that on the non-observance of the respective *Dharma*, whether it is of the king or of his people, anarchy and disorder will rend society asunder and will not allow the peaceful atmosphere to prevail. Like Plato, Śukra has a great contribution to Indian society in upholding a code of morality and principle of social life

This is only one aspect of the political thinking of Sukra which is in tune with the philosophy of Plato But Śukra has views on kingship which can, to a slight extent, be compared with those of Machiavelli Śukra, like Machiavelli, says that to maintain power, it is necessary that the ruler must inculcate love and faith among the citizens. This can be done by abstaining from becoming rapacious and usurping the property of his citizens Sukra advises his king to be strong in military power[17] and anticipates the views of Machiavelli : "The main foundations of every state, new states as well as ancient or composite ones are good laws and good arms ; and because you cannot have

good laws without good arms, and where there are good arms, good laws inevitably follow "[18]

The king should, therefore, pay a lot of attention to war and its organisation because it is vitally important for a king who wants to uphold and defend his position Like Machiavelli, Śukra also holds the view that though a prince must appear merciful, he should not refrain from cruelty, if it facilitates to conquer the enemy and promotes the establishment of unity, order, peace and integrity To quote Machiavelli · "Prince must, therefore, keep his mind ready to shift as the winds and tides of fortune tell and ought not to quit good courses if he can help, but should know how to follow evil if he must [19]" Sukra likewise observes, "One should carry the enemy on one's shoulders so long as he is more powerful than oneself, but after knowing that his strength has been impaired, should break him down as a vessel against a stone ![20]" Again as Machiavelli puts it, if a prince takes care, pays attention to the various precepts and techniques prescribed by him, he is able to preserve power Similarly, Śukra exhorts that the king who always studies the text of Śukra becomes competent to bear the burden of state-affairs [21]

Despite the striking similarities in the positions taken by Śukra vis-a-vis Plato and Machiavelli, it must also be noted that the two have fundamentally different assumptions about politics The eastern and the western political philosophies flow from different, and at times, contrasting notions of life and universe What Śukra terms as *Dharma* is a spiritual moral category of thought, unlike the Platonic concept of Justice and Machiavelli's prescription of Expediency which belong to the rational category The roots of the two theories—eastern and western, however, have to be taken into account if we are to do justice to the stuctures and superstructures of thought-processes for purposes of comparative political theory and analysis

4

KINGSHIP

The concept of kingship as established in ancient India generally, and in the *Śukra Nīti*, in particular, is incompatible with the western theory of sovereignty Hobbes, for example, claimed 'absolute' powers for the king symbolised by the phrase *legibus solutus*—'freed from the laws' The king in ancient India, on the other hand, was never above the law He was subject to the supreme law of *Dharma* He had limited authority *Manu*[1] says that the king who harasses his subjects loses his life, family and kingdom The *Mahābhārata*[2] states, 'The king who does not protect his subjects (but) robs them of their wealth is an incarnation of evil *Kali* and must be killed by the people *Prajā*'. Śukra recommends the expulsion of the king who becomes an enemy of the state 'If the king be an enemy of virtue, morality and strength, people should desert him as ruiner of the state[3]' He adds, king *Vena* was a tyrant but the sages destroyed him by their supernatural powers It would, thus, be seen that the king who came into power was far from being a law unto himself unlike the Hobbesian king

It is remarkable that the word king is, by and large, synonym for the state Once we realize this, the whole concept of kingship, as spelled out in the *Śukra Nīti*, is enlarged and revealing, demanding exposition in the light of modern trends.

The accepted goal of the state in India was to create such conditions and environments as would enable all men to live in peace and happiness and to fulfil their own duties as belonging to a particular class *varna* or a particular stage of life *āśrama*, to pursue their avoca-

tions, to follow their own customs and usages and to enjoy, without interference, the fruits of their labour and the property acquired by them. The king was, therefore, the divinely ordained instrument to maintain the conditions of peace, order and happiness in accordance with *Dharma* laid down by '*Śruti*'—divine revelation and *Smriti* traditional law *Dharma* was believed to be the supreme power in the state and was above the king The king was only the instrument to realize the goal of *Dharma* Thus, the western concept of the sovereign is inapplicable to the Indian model of kingship

The Necessity of the King

Like Plato, Aristotle and other western philosophers, Hindu thinkers also uphold the importance of the social order and good life for the happiness of individuals It is assumed that society cannot exist in an individualistic environment Every individual, in such a situation, actuated by egoistic motives, would lead society to anarchy and a state of misery According to Hooker,[4] the state of nature is a state of strife The *Leviathan* of Hobbes declares similarly that the state of nature is a state of war and of no rights The non-state is thus conceived to be a war of 'all against all', an 'anarchy of birds and beasts', or a 'regime of vultures and harpies' of John Stuart Mill Similarly in the political anthropology of the *Mahābhārata*[5], men by nature tend to overthrow one another As a rule, men, in *Mātsya Nyāya*, are used to behave 'like fishes in the shallow waters'

Instead of postulating with Rousseau, the writer of *Emile*,[6] that 'all things are good as their author made them but everything degenerates in the hands of man', Indian thinkers believed that the state is designated to correct human vices or restrain them and open out the avenues to a fuller and higher life In ancient China also, according to *Heun Tze*[7] (305-235 B C), 'man is by nature wicked, his goodness is the result of nurture'. Sir *Hw*[8] states, "The ancient rulers understood the natural viciousness of man...and, therefore, created morals, laws, and institutions in order that human instincts and impulses might be disciplined and transformed ' According to *Kāmandaka*,[9] men are by nature subject to passions and are covetous of one another's wealth and wife. *Manu*[10] confirms, 'Rare is man pure or sinless by nature'

Ancient Indian thinkers, therefore, had a firm conviction that a king is created to correct human vices or restrain them so as to open out the avenues to a perfect life In *Mātsya Nyāya*, there is no law, no justice no duty Thus, a king is the originator of law, justice and duty. He brings the prevailing chaos to order Śukra appropriately describes him as the Head *Mūrdhā Nrpah Smrtah*[11] or the root of the state. Justifying the necessity of a king, the *Skanda Purāna*[12] asserts that the entire life depends upon the presence of a king who is the sole cause of *Dharma*, as well as the root of every thing else A state without a king was doomed to destruction *Mrtam rāstram arājakam*[13] Security of human life and the preservation of the social order depends upon a king who is eulogised as the benefactor of the people, defender of *Dharma*, wielder of the sceptre and chastiser of the wicked

Origin of the King

Vedic literature suggests that war begot the king The *Aitareya Brāhmana*[14] states : The *devas* and the *asuras* were fighting...The *asuras* defeated the *devas* The *devas* felt, 'It is on account of our having no chief that the *asuras* defeat us Let us create a king' The *Mahābhārata*[15] says about the origin of king that in ancient days when men were ruined as a consequence of the prevalence of anarchy, they approached *Brahmā* with a prayer to grant them a king *Brahmā* there-upon induced *Manu* to take up the kingship.

Bhīsma[16] gives a slightly different version of this incident. He says that in the *Krtyayuga*, there was no sovereignty, no king, no punishment, and no punisher, and that all men used to protect one another actuated by the sense of righteousness They, however, soon found that this world was too much for them and became gradually a prey to error (*Moha*), greed (*Lobha*), desire (*Rāga*) and lust (*kāma*) When such confusion set in and righteousness perished, men sought the help of *Brahmā*, who, thereupon, composed a stupendous treatise on the *puruṣārthas* (the ends of human life), of which the works of *Brhaspati*, *Śukra* and others were but abridgements[17]. The *devas* then prayed for a king to rule over men and *Visnu* created *Virajas*. *Virajas*, however, did not relish the kingship conferred upon him, and *Ananga*, his great

grand son, became the first king of *Bhārata Varsa* *Manu*[18] states that when men were without a king and dispersed through fear in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of all of them, and that the essence of the *Dikpālas* (lords of the quarters) was used for his creation. The Buddhist *Dīgha Nikāya*[19] recalls that mankind was righteous at the beginning of society but then sinfulness gradually crept into human society Men selected the one who was the most handsome, gracious and powerful as their king

However, the archetype and primordial model of mundane ruler was king *Prthu*, who ruled the earth, wherefore it is called *Prthvi* *Prthu* is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*[20] as the innovator of agriculture, but the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*[21] refers to him as the first of men who was installed as a king *Prthu* was proficient in *Veda*, *Vedānga*, *Dhanurvedā* and *Dandanīti* The gods and sages asked *Prthu* to uphold *Dharma* to control his senses, and made him to take an oath that he would never punish a *Brāhmana* *Prthu* did many beneficial acts whereupon *Visnu* conferred upon him a boon saying : 'O king, no man will be able to disobey you', and being pleased with *Prthu's* austerities, *Visnu* entered *Prthu's* body According to *Kautilya*[22], when the people were oppressed by the law of fish, they made *Manu*, the son of *Vivasvat*, the king. They fixed one-sixth part of the grains and one-tenth of their goods, and money as his share

On the basis of the above incidents and events given by the *Vedas*, *Brāhmanas*, the *Mahābhārata*, *Smrtis* and *Purānas*, it is obvious that the first king was divine and was given by gods in response to prayer by men and he came into existence when there was anarchy or the *Mātsyanyāya*

As to the nature of kingship in early India, there is considerable difference of opinion among the scholars on whether kingship in India was hereditary or elective To quote A S Altekar[23] : 'A passage in the *Rgveda* seems to refer to the people *(viśas)* electing a king (Rgveda, X. 128.8) Another passage in the *Arthaśāstra* expresses the hope that the king to be coronated may be elected by the people' P V. Kane[24] says, 'in the *Atharvaveda* (III 4 2) there is a reference to the

election of king by the people, "the people *(viśas)* chose thee to govern the kingdom, these quarters, the five goddesses (chose thee)" The *Taittirīya Brāhmana* (1 7 3) states, in connection with the twelve offerings in the *Rājasūya* called *"ratninām havīmsi"* that the *'Ratnins'* give the *'rāṣṭra'* kingdom (to the king)' It appears that the conception was that the king got the kingdom from nobles, high functionaries and the common people

Thus, there are indications that kingship, especially in vedic times, was elective but later this was an exception rather than a rule Monarchy was normally hereditary The crown was hereditary and went by succession within the royal family No ruler professed that he owed his throne to popular votes.

Importance of the King

The most common name used for a king in Sanskrit is *'Rājan'* The word *'rājan'* (king) is derived in the *Nirukta*[25] from the root *'rāj'* (to shine), but the *Mahābhārata*[26] derives the word from the root *ranj* (to please), meaning that the king was called *'rājā'* because he kept his subjects contented. The *Mahābhārata*[27] says that seeing *Pṛthu,* his subjects exclaimed, 'We love him', and that on account of their loving attachment, he was called *'rājan'* Apparently by the time *Yāska* (C800-500 B C.) wrote the *Nirukta* and the *Mahābhārata* was composed, the word *'rājan'* had assumed present connotation and the king's formost duty was protection and care of his people, for which he was to be loved by them.

The purpose of the ancient thinkers in upholding kingship was their concern for society. They wanted to preserve the society with the four castes *varnas* and four stages of life *āśramas* which formed its basis. For this purpose, a king with adequate power was necessary and the ancient law-givers invested the king with political powers. He was accepted as the cognizable central authority and the repository of executive and judicial powers Accordingly, the *Mahābhārata*[28] advises that one should first secure a king, then wife and then wealth, for in the

absence of the ruler there would be no wife nor private property This shows that the institution of family, private property and the protection of weak are bound up with the existence of a ruler.

As the welfare of society revolves around the king, for he is the protector of the helpless, the home of the homeless, son of the sonless and the father of the fatherless, in the *Śukra Nīti*, he is accorded the top position of the head among the seven elements of the body of state[29] On account of faithful discharge of his duties towards society entrusted to him by the people, he is believed to have parts of gods in him *Manu*[30] holds that the lord created a king for the protection of this whole creation, taking for that purpose eternal particles of *Indra*, *Vāyu*, *Yama*, *Sūrya*, *Agni*, *Varuna*, *Soma*, and *Kubera* The *Mahābhārata*[31] explains that the king resembles the god fire because he burns the wicked by his power, the god sun, because he sees everything through his spies, the god *Yama*, because he metes out just punishment, the god *Kubera*, because he showers wealth on the deserving and so on Because a king has been formed of particles of those lords of the gods he, therefore, surpasses all created beings in lusture and like the Sun, he burns eyes and hearts A Sanskrit maxim "*Nāvisnu Prthivīpati*" means, the ruler of earth is *Visnu* incarnated as a man Every king is *Visnu* This statement focusses the highest position of a king held by him in Indian society

Evolution of Kingship

In India, the kingship grew out of tribes *(janas)*, clans *(viśas)* and families *(kulas)* The vedic period was patriarchal Several *kulas* (families) made a *viśa* (a local community) and several *viśas*, a *jana* (tribe) Those among the *kulapatis*, who were noted for their strength and leadership, used to become *viśpatis* From among the *viśpatis*, one would rise to the position of the *janapati* for similar qualities. Thus, kingship arose out of the patriarchal tradition prevailing in society[32] When Aryans expanded, the small tribal groups were merged in larger units of the folk, and what is more, there emerged a new type of polity,

namely, the territorial state A further development was marked by the rise of over-lordships which anticipated the principal types of empire known to later times

Function of the king through the Ages

Vedic Period The Vedic kingship was associated from the beginning with high dignity, prosperity and authority As early as the Vedic period, the king combined in himself the highest executive, judicial and administrative functions In *Śukla Yajurveda Samhitā* (IX 22) the priest addresses the king before the inauguration, "O Lord! here is thy kingdom, be thou its ruler and guide, remain steadfast in the position, thou art here to see that agriculture may flourish and the prosperity of the country may remain unbounded, that the people may be wealthy and that there may be proper nourishment of the people."[33] Like his divine prototype, *Varuna*, the king, undertook the detection and suppression of crimes through the agencies of spies He claimed contributions from his subjects, probably in the from of share of agricultural produce and the livestock belonging to villagers But the Vedic king was not above law There was the supremacy of *Dharma* (sacred law) above the king The Vedic concept of an omnipotent divine law operated as a moral check on the authority of the king

Sūtra Period. The earliest sanskrit texts dealing with kingship, civil and criminal law, are the *Dharmasūtras* *Gautama*[3] commences his section on the duties of a king with the observation that the king is the master of all with the exception of Brāhmanas His duties are to protect the castes and to lead back those who are astray from the paths prescribed for them *Dharamasūtras* concern themselves not only with the religious obligations, in the strict sense, but also deal with larger aspects of community life. It is, in this context, that the *Dharma Sūtras* discuss the concept of the king and his duties Thus, the king exists to protect and the protection of *varnāśrama dharma* is his duty *par excellence*

Arthaśāstra Period The position of the king, as envisaged in the *Dharmasūtras*, is further strengthened by *Kauṭilya*[35] when he says, 'For

the king.. enjoys the earth alone without sharing it with any other ruler, being devoted to the welfare of all beings' Whereas *Dharma-Sūtras* are primarily concerned with sociological issues which afford very little or no room to politics as an independent realm, the *Arthaśāstra* is devoted largely to the discussion of political problems Thus, while the *Dharma-Sūtras* visualize the king in an essentially policing function,[36] the *Arthaśāstra* views him in a largely political perspective *Kautilya* aimed at the establishment of political power, as an independent activity, so that his treatment of the king differs from that of the *Dharma-Sūtras*

Manu Period. Manu follows *Dharma-Sūtras* in looking at the king as a supportive instrument defending a pre-existing social order To quote him, 'The king has been created to be the protector of castes and orders, who all according to their ranks, discharge their several duties'[37] But we see in *Manu* an advance from the *Dharmasūtras* as he deals with all the matters likely to give rise to litigation In addition, he firmly establishes the king's connection with justice, both as a judge and as the final executor of sanctions *Manu* is more specific than the *Dharmasūtras* in affording a place to the state in the matters of socio-political administration He attempts to reconcile the growth of monarchical power within the essentially static nature of the *varna* system

Buddha Period Buddhism does not make caste a foundation of the institution of kingship as it believes in the operation of the iron law of *Karma* by which one reaps in the next birth the fruits of action performed in the present one, irrespective of one's birth and caste In the Brahmanical scheme, the king is nesessary for the maintenance of pre-existent society, while in the Buddhistic view the king is a necessary agent through whom a viable social life can come into being

Asoka Period Asoka's concept of kingship constitutes a radical departure from the *Dharma-Sūtra*, *Manu* and *Kautilya* Here, the role of the king emerged from society which was existent, the primordial

and God-given and which the king subserved through his functions of protection and punishment symbolised and embodied in rod *Danda* The *Varnāśrama* constituted a whole system which enveloped both the ruler and ruled within its fold of status and obligation Within this frame, the *Ksatriya's* duty was to fight and not to debate whether the act was intrinsically right or not Asoka, when concerned with the question of compassion and the suffering consequent upon war, does not assume war as given, but as something which needs to be evaluated on its own terms War is no longer regarded by Asoka, as an inescapable duty, a function attendent upon his status as a monarch, but as an act which can be judged as condemnable Asoka, thus, takes a stand quite different from the network of injunctions and associated justifications which constitute the *Varnāsrama* system Asoka, in this way, represents a crucial element of change in social perspective He is concerned with injecting an ethical principle into society, not just preaching the good life to society but making social life as social, an ethically viable pursuit According to him, the moral agent behind this ethical transformation in society is the monarch and Asoka, therefore, views the king in this perspective [38]

Gupta Period : The period of imperial Guptas, the golden age of ancient Indian history, was marked by a great exaltation of monarchy. The rulers assumed the high imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja* in their inscriptions, coins, legends and seals and claimed for themselves superhuman qualities raising them almost to the level of gods

Post-Gupta Period : In the period immediately following the downfall of the Gupta empire King Harshavardhana of Thaneshwar and Kannouja made himself the strongest power in Northern India The contemporary Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, gives high praise to Harsha for his love of justice, his undermining industry in the discharge of his duties and his piety and popularity The king undertook incessant tours for the inspection of his domain, he founded rest houses for travellers and erected *stūpas* and monasteries throughout his kingdom and, in this way, Harshavardhana[39] represented an ideal king established in *Dharma Sūtras* and *Smrtis* In the post-Gupta period of Northern India, Imperial Pratiharas, the Gadhavalas, the Kalacuris,

the Chandellas, the Parmaras, the Calukyas and the Chahmanas retained the traditional headship of the executive, judicial and military powers They also assumed the customary imperial titles In South India, Colas and Pandaya kings also followed the old traditions of monarchy

Thus, the position, function and perogatives of the king as defined and established in the early *Dharma-Sūtras*, *Smrtis* and other works on Indian polity, were maintained in the Indian history of kings The king's position was determined in terms of rules of social precedence, ceremonial purity and personal security based on social and moral sanctions The king's functions as described mostly in all the texts as the protection and prosperity of his subjects, the administration of justice, the guardianship of the law of social order, the regulation of trade and commerce, and so forth Not only is he required to provide for an extensive system of state-relief to the indignant, the helpless and the learned and the maintenance of *varnāśrama* system but also enjoined to keep before him the objective of his subject's freedom from want and fear

After the *Dharma-Sūtras* and *Smrtis* the most important independent works dealing with kingship are the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya, the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka, *Nītivākyāmrtam* of Somadevasuri and *Śukra Nīti* of Śukra.

Arthaśāstra · The whole of Kautilya's theory of polity is based on the proper and peaceful performance of the assigned duties of the four castes *Varnas* and the four *Āśramas* stages of human life, *Kautilya* states that a king who is severe in repression becomes a terror to his people, and one who is mild in the award of punishment is treated by them with contempt, while he who awards punishment as deserved, is respected [40] So, he thinks that *Danda* should be awarded after full and just consideration, and it must not be awarded wrongly, nor allowed to remain in abeyance, for in this case, it will produce the condition of *Mātsyanyāya* or anarchy Unrivalled suzerainty can only be attained by a fully disciplined and educated monarch The king must at once attend to all urgent calls of business and not put them

off, for, when postponed, they may prove too difficult or even impossible to accomplish Readiness for action is described as a religious vow for a king and the root of all royal business The king's happiness and welfare, it is said depends on those of his subjects

Kāmandakīya Nītisāra · It is based mainly on Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* and the author[41], at the beginning of his work, acknowledges *Kautilya* as his master and eulogizes him as the creator of the science of polity Thus, we have nothing new in the treatment of kingship in his work He is indebted to *Kautilya* for the contents of his book

Nītivākyāmrtam : It is written by the Jain author Somadeva Suri and is an interesting treatise on statecraft The author based his work mostly on the discussion of topics in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* He takes more interest in moral maxims than in administrative matters, for he is anxious to teach all rulers how they should behave with their people While accepting the *Brāhmanical Varnāśrama* ideal, the Jain author prescribes the tenets of materialistic philosophy for kings for whom ascetic practices are unbecoming

Śukra Nīti : It appears that there were two prominent schools of political thought in ancient India Leaving aside old writers like *Brahmā* and *Manu*, early pioneers of political thought in India were *Bhrgu* and *Āngiras* Of these the school of *Bhrgu* was most probably represented by *Śukra* and that of *Āngiras* by *Brhaspati* and *Kauṭilya*. The adherents of the *Bhrgu* school generally named their treatises as *Nīti Śāstra* and the followers of *Angiras* school designated their works as Arthaśāstra[42].

Nīti stands for the fundamental law of society which helps a man in achieving *vinaya*-discipline of body, mind and soul which make him a good member of society, state and group to which he belongs. Man can change his ways of life and qualities of mind under the influence of educational discipline, social contact, economic opportunity, security, political power and restraint Thus, the rules of morality, codes of honour, behaviour and customs are signified by *NĪTI* which binds both the ruler and the ruled together *Artha*, on the other hand, stands for

wealth which is one of the fruits of polity *Kautilya*[43], following the tradition of Angiras, observes that *Artha* is the chief among the three goals as the other two, *Dharma* and *Kāma*, depend upon the *Artha*. Sukra probably belongs to that tradition in which *Dharma* (righteousness) reigned supreme To quote the *Mahābhārata* : "One becometh a king in order that he may uphold righteousness and not that he may conduct himself capriciously. The king is the protector of the world, O Māndhātā, if he acts righteously he attaineth to the honours of a veritable god upon earth But if he acts unrighteously, he sinketh into hell. All creatures rest upon righteousness, and righteouness in turn resteth upon the king. That king alone is a true king who upholds righteousness. If he fails to chastize unrighteousness, the *devas* (gods) desert his mansions and he incurreth obloquy among men "[14] The state is not an end itself, as believed by Machiavelli, but only a means to an end.

Thus, Śukra represents the tradition different from that followed by Kautilya resulting in some originality in the terms of kingship. He, like earlier writers, does not lay down that every king is representative or a part of gods [45] He makes a clear distinction between a good king and a bad king and distinctly maintains that it is only the good king who is a part of gods The bad king is not a part of gods but he is a part of demons Again,[46] he clearly states that kingship does not arise from, nor it is perogative of birth It is virtue alone that makes a person king A king is a king only as long as he is virtuous As soon as he deviates from the path of virtue and follows the path of vice, he ceases to be a king[47].

The focal point in the thinking of Sukra, therefore, is that legitimate political power is always seen to be a manifestation of personal virtue, an attribute of particular quality of being, and not just a skill, a facile trade capable of being learnt and wielded as an instrument. Should the ruler possess this quality, and act conducive to it, orderly administration will follow as a necessary consequence. The first necessity of government, as propounded by Śukra, both on the part of the ruler and the ruled is, thus, the development of one's *inner* nature, the rooting of oneself in virtue. The ruler's own behaviour will consti-

tute a model and he will rule through the effulgence of his virtue and not through positivistic means The king is, therefore, called '*rājan*' derived from the root '*rāj*' to shine because he shines and this shine is nothing else except his virtue.

Sukra's views, thus, are similar to those of the Chinese philosopher, Confucious For Confucious, a distinction between the private and the political is untenable, the public sphere is the extension of the private one, and the virtues of the former spring from the latter The point that it is the quality of personal being which is of fundamental importance finds succinct expression in a celebrated passage from the *great learning* where it is said, "The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first ordered well their states, wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families, wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons, wishing to cultivate their persons, they first statisfied their hearts, wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts "[48]

Śukra, likewise, categorically states that the strength and recognition of political power depends on certain moral qualities a ruler possesses and certain moral and social standards Otherwise his government cannot be useful, effective and acceptable The king, to be successful, has to rule according to moral qualities and social standards which are termed as *Dharma* or *Nīti* Śukra, therefore, designates his work *Nīti* and not *Arthaśāstra*, as is done by Kautilya Śukra lays special stress on the king's own discipline and self-restraint. The greatest of the functions of the king is considered to be ruling himself.[49] The importance of moral training is constantly mentioned in the political treatise of Śukra

Another noteworthy point that we find in Sukra is the ethical conception of law, which came down to him through the *upaniṣads*, *Dharmasūtras*, *Smṛtis* and *Purānas*. Law is the embodiment of eternal justice, a part of natural heritage of man and an embodiment of natural reason Even the lesser rulers can attain excellence if they are protec-

tors of all *Dharmas* (Law) And even the greater rulers get degraded if they destory *Dharma*[50] (Law) It is the king who is the maker of the age and the promulgator of the principles of virtue and vice [51]

Śukra emphasises that man is the architect of his own fate. He discusses the question as to whether time is more important than man in regarding the affairs of the world Sukra takes for granted the doctrine that man is responsible for his *Dharma* and, therefore, must be a voluntary agent, regulating his own work, his own initiative and not at the will of other agent, e g time And, therefore, the common notion that it is the spirit of the age, the '*Kāla Dharma*', as the causation, falls to the ground Śukra[52], therefore, categorically states that the man is the maker of his age Thus, the spirit of an age is created by the king He is the cause of setting on foot of the customs, usages and movements and, hence, is the cause or maker of time—the creater of epochs '*Kālasya Kāranam*'

The foremost duty of the king is, therefore, to make the subjects obedient to their own duties He himself has to be an exempler to his subjects, since whatever *Dharma* is observed by him will be observed everywhere and subjects will generally move only along the path trodden by him All creatures depend on *dharma*, and *dharma* depends on the king He, therefore, is a true king who maintains *dharma* If the king fails in his own duty, the subjects would go astray, each from his own work in life [53]

Śukra's significant contribution lies in his designation of the seven constituents of the state as *angas* The term *anga* is very significant and suggests a belief, in what is now known as, the 'Organic Theory of the State' There were several exponents of this theory in Ancient India But the credit goes to Śukra for instituting a very lucid comparison between the *angas* of the state and the limbs of the human body He says the kingdom is an organism of seven limbs, viz , the Sovereign, the Minister, the Friend, the Treasure, the State, the Fort and the Army Of these seven constituent elements of the kingdom, the king or sovereign, is the head, the Minister is the eye, the Friend is the ear, the Treasure is the mouth, the Army is the mind, the Fort is the arms, and

country (*Janapada*) is the legs[51] Thus, Śukra metaphorically points out that the state is not a loose conglomeration of independent units but a living organism depending upon cooperation and coordination of its different constituents None of them is useless or superfluous as all of them must work hormoniously towards the common goal

Śukra's treatment of kingship in the *Śukra Nīti* is conspicuous that the author candidly protrudes the role of a king as an upholder of *Danda* (Punishment) *Danda* in ancient political thought is a two-edged sword and cuts both ways On the one hand, it is a terror to the people and is a corrective of social abuses and, on the other hand, it is a moralizer, purifier and civilising agent It is the abstraction of that power whose concrete embodiment is *aiśvarya* (lordship), *svāmitva* (ownership) or sovereignty Śukra asserts that it is through *Danda* (fear of punishment) that people become virtuous and refrain from committing aggression or indulging in untruths[55] *Danda* is efficacious in causing the cruel to become mild and wicked to give up wickedness It is the foundation of civil life, being the great stay of all virtues, and all the methods and means of statecraft would be fruitless without a judicious exercise of *Danda* by a king *Danda* is, thus, a beneficient agency in social life Śukra unequivocally says that *Danda*, being two-edge sword, can cut its weilder also when he happens to be addicted to an extra dose of vanity or is unmindful of his own vocations[56]

Thus, the *Śukra Nīti*, though recognised as *magnum opus* of statecraft, and in the enunciation of the concept of kingship, has escaped the eyes of scholars and researchers Although scholars have worked on the nature, power and the position of the king in ancient India, the concept of the king as propounded by Śukra has not yet been properly focussed and elaborated Śukra has made a unique contribution to the development of theory of kingship I have, therefore, made an humble effort in the ensuing chapters at digging out this important text for purposes of political interpretation with a view to straighten out the ancient theory of kingship.

5

SUKRA'S KING

Starting from the social and political situation of vedic India, when the people had to fight hard for self-preservation and existence, it is reasonable to suppose that the qualities expected of a king were heroism, vigour, firmness and ability to organise vedic people to combat the hostile forces The vedic god *Indra*, was a prototype of the qualities the king was expected to possess The *Rgveda*[1] says, "Of one accord they made and formed for kingship *Indra*, the hero who in all encounters, overcometh, the most eminent for power, destroyer in the conflict, fierce and exceeding strong, stalwart and full of vigour." The *Atharva veda*[2] invokes the gods to uphold the king and compares the king with *Indra* Thus, in early India, physical prowess was an important criterion of kingship The king, like *Indra*, might be chosen if he were 'the mightiest, the most powerful, the strongest, the most real, the best to accomplish'[3].

The *Mahābhārata* states that three classes of persons could lay claim to royalty, i e , persons of royal blood, heroes, and those who lead armies Persons afflicted with disease or deformity were excluded from the throne although otherwise being eligible[4] *Devāpi* was the eldest son of king *Pratīpa*, yet according to some legends, he had leprosy and, therefore, his brother *Śāntanu* succeeded to the throne According to the *Mahābhārata*, the gods do not approve of a king who is defective of a limb Later on, in accordance with the ideal conceived of a king, other qualities were added.

A king was required to possess such qualities as serenity, cleverness, boldness, power of comprehension, eloquence, majesty, purity, kindness, liberality, noble family, truthfulness, morality and self-restraint *Kautilya*[5] narrates several lists of the king's qualities He should be virtuous, truthful, not failing in his promises, highly enthusiastic, firm in mind and desirous of self-discipline *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*[6] requires that the king should do what is right according to *Śāstras* and speak or decide rightly, be pure at heart, and externally, control his senses and be endowed with knowledge of the means of polity *Kāmandaka*[7] mentions qualities that lead to the well-equipped personality of the king He regards liberality, truthfulness and valour, as the three greatest qualities of the king The *Mahābhārata*[8] says that the people make such a person as their king who is efficient, noble, of pure heart and is charitable He should be a righteous person, must protect and nourish the people, cultivate virtues like forgiveness, purity of ideas, patience, goodwill to others and follow the truth [9]

When *Manu*[10] observes that the Lord created a king, taking for that purpose eternal particles of *Indra*, of the wind, of *Yama*, (lord of death) of the Sun, of Fire, of *Varuna*, of the Moon and of the Lord of Wealth *Kubera*, he metaphorically lays down the qualities the king should possess He should be valorous like *Indra* and rule over people, wield the *Danda* to punish guilty like *Yama*, engage people in their proper duties like the god *Varuna* and be generous to distribute wealth to the people like *Kubera* *Manu*[11] adds, because a king has been formed of particles of those lords of the gods he, therefore, surpasses all created beings in lustre. Through his power, he is Fire and Wind, he is Sun and Moon, he is the Lord of Justice *Yama*, he is *Kubera*, he is *Varuna* and he is the great *Indra* [12] The *Rāmāyana*[13] elevates a king to be even mightier than the gods, one god can perform only one function, but a king does functions of all gods, *Yama*, *Kubera* and *Indra* simultaneously

On the basis of the above texts, we can sum up the qualities of a king that he should be endowed with great energy, munificence, given

to the service of people, philanthrophic, virtuous, of noble birth, truthful, pure, well-versed in the *Dharma Śāstras,* logic, the three *Vedas* and having full control over his mind and senses

Valour : Śukra,[14] true to the traditional conception of a king from the vedic period, states that the king who is powerful, intelligent and valorous enjoys the earth full of its wealth, and such a king becomes the lord of this world Prowess, strength, intelligence and valour—these are the great qualifications The king who has other qualities but not these, though he is wealthy, cannot enjoy even a small region, but is soon thrown out of his throne It is not size that is the strength of a state, but discipline and military efficiency are the two principal conditions of the prosperity and importance of a kingdom [15] Thus, to Śukra, superior to a wealthy king is the one, who though small in territory, has his commands unobstructed and is powerful [16] It is significant that Śukra does not believe that it is birth that makes a king A king is a king because of his qualities. He is not respected so much because of his ancestry, as for his prowess, strength and valour [17]

Self-discipline Of all the qualities, after prowess and strength, Śukra emphasises the discipline of a king Discipline is the major character of the king This gives mastery over the senses and one who has mastered the senses acquires the *Śāstras* [18] The king should first provide discipline to himself, thereafter to the sons, ministers, servants, and to the subjects [19] He should never display his ability in only advising others Śukra teaches the king for the control and restraint of the senses in achieving discipline [20] This is the fundamental and primary lesson of moral education which is greatly stressed by Śukra throughout his treatise One should bring to discipline by the book of knowledge, the elephant of the senses which is running to and fro in a destructive manner in the vast forest of enjoyable things.[21]

The king, according to Śukra, whose heart is agitated by the enjoyable things falls into a trap like the elephant Many princes have been ruined through attachment to women, for example, *Indra, Dandakya, Nahusa, Rāvana* and others.[22] *Śukra*, therefore, advises that the king can

discharge his duties for happiness in this world and the next when he has duly governed his own self[23] That man deserves sovereignty for life whose activities are regulated, who is good and restrained in his receipts and who gives up illicit incomes[24] The man who is unrestrained in his speech and deed and is a crook is forthwith dragged down from his position[25] Sensuousness (*Kāma*), anger (*Krodha*), ignorance (*Moha*), cupidity (*Lobha*), vanity (*Māna*) and passion (*Mada*) are the faults and vices that men in general commit in individual lives and which the king also must guard against.

Śukra narrates that king *Dandakya* went to the dogs by taking to sensuousness (*Kāma*), *Janamejaya* through anger (*Krodha*), *Rājarsi Aila* through cupidity (*Lobha*), *Asuravātāpi* through folly (*Moha*), *Rāksasa Paulastya* through vanity (*Māna*) and king *Dambhodbhava* through passions (*Mada*).[26] But the powerful *Jāmadagnya* and the fortunate *Ambarīsa* ruled the world for a long time by giving up these six enemies[27] People donot take to a king who is very cowardly, procrastinating, passionate, and excessively attached to the enjoyable things through ignorance.[28] Hunting, dice-playing and drinking are condemnable in kings Dangers from these are illustrated in the cases of *Pāndu*, *Naisadha* and *Vrsni*, respectively When one demerit spreads ill fame, a combination of faults can do it more[29] Youth, life, mind, beauty, wealth, sovereignty—these are very inconsistent Knowing this, the king should be religious[30] The subjects desert a king who is uncharitable, insults men, practices deceit and uses harsh words and is severe in punishment[31] The king attached to actors, musicians, prostitutes, athletes, oxen and lower castes (*Varnas*) deserves ignominy and is exposed to enemies.[32]

But Śukra does not blindly teach the absolute inhibition of the passions and the strict asceticism which leads to the killing of the senses In the system of Śukra, there is a place for gambling, drinking, women, anger, sensuousness and other indulgences Thus, women, anger and greed which are to be the greatest enemies of moral nature have, according to Śukra, their own parts to play in human life and are not absolutely the unalloyed vices they are painted to be.

Wine drunk, according to some measure, increases the talent, clears the intelligence, augments patience and makes the mind stead-fast, but otherwise it is ruinous [33] Similarly, sensuousness (*Kāma*), anger (*Krodha*), greed (*Lobha*) like wine should be duly used *Kāma* (sensuousness) in the maintenance of people, *Krodha* (anger) against enemies and *Lobha* (greed) in increasing the power of army [34] But the king should not indulge in sensuousness with regard to others' wives, greed in others' wealth and anger in punishing their own subjects.[35]

Wisdom of the Science of Polity Since the king holds in his hand the destiny of the people, Śukra strongly stresses that one of the formidable qualities of the king is that he must carefully master the *Nīti Śāstra* on whose knowledge the prosperity and happiness of the kingdom rests [36] According to him, as the *Nīti-Śāstra* is considered to be the spring of virtue, wealth, enjoyment and salvation, the ruler should ever carefully peruse it [37] By knowing the *Nīti Śāstra*, the ruler can be victorious over foes, affectionate and conciliatory towards subjects and competent in the art of state-craft When the king follows the rules laid down by the wise, he is respected by the people, not otherwise[38].

The two primary functions of the king, the protection of subjects and constant punishment of offenders, cannot be achieved without the knowledge of the *Nīti Śāstra* [39] Just as in the case of the sick persons, who take unprescribed food, the diseases come immediately so also in the case of kings, who are unschooled in the principles of the *Nīti Śāstra*, the enemies make their appearance at once[40] The absence of the knowledge of *Nīti Śāstra* is always dangerous to a king like a vessel which leaks It multiplies and satisfies enemies and causes the diminution of strength and efficiency [41]

The *Nīti Śāstra* is calculated to increase knowledge. The king should, therefore, associate with the *Guru* for the acquisition of the *Śāstras*. The king trained in the branches of learning is respected by the good and does not incline to wrong deeds even if impelled by evil motives.[42] Of the monarch who has conquered his senses and who

follows the *Nīti Śāstra*, prosperity is in the ascendant and fame reaches the skies [43] Thus, *Nītiśāstra* keeps the king alert and well informed and thereby peace and prosperity of the state can be maintained. The king, by bypassing the *Nīti* confronts misery,[44] the state is jeopardised both externally and internally leading to ultimate ruination On the contrary, the king who follows *Nīti* earns respect *Nīti* and might together bring alround prosperity [45]

Virtue · Śukra speaks highly of a virtuous king and censures one who is immoral The king called *Vaiśravana* could rule the earth through virtue but through sin *Nahusa* got hell, *Vena* was ruined through vice and *Prthu* was prosperous through virtue So the ruler should cultivate his interest by placing virtue in his front.[46] The prince who is virtuous is a part of gods He who is otherwise is a part of demons and is the enemy of religion and oppressor of subjects [47] Where the king is virtuous, people are also virtuous, where the king is a sinner, the subjects are also vicious In the kingdom of the sinner king, clouds do not pour rain in season, lands are not productive, the commonwealth deteriorates, enemies increase and wealth is destroyed [48]

Even the king who is a drunkard is good but not he who is very cruel and addicted to women For the severe king irritates the subjects but the vicious one destroys the castes [49] The addiction to wine deprives a man of his intelligence and he loses his business. Passion, greed and anger are likewise of the nature of liquor and are greater intoxicants than wine. The king through excessive anger and greed destroys the wealth and life of the subjects. So the king should administer the state by giving up these vices [50]

Thus, the qualities of the king, on which Śukra lays emphasis, apart from his physique and valour, are his sound training in the science of politics, control over vices like addiction to women and liquor, virtue, restraint of senses, discipline and morality.

Observance of duty : Hindu philosophy and sociology prescribe every individual his own duty, conduct and avocation. The strict observance of one's own duty and avocation in life are the great pro-

moters of human efficiency and happiness The person who practices his own duty can become powerful and influential in this world Without strict adherence to one's own work in life, there can be no happiness Śukra, therefore, emphasises that practising one's own duty is the paramount penance [51]

In relation to the rest of society, the individual, according to the Indian thinking, has to devote himself to his duties—his *Dharma* by which he has to secure his own advancement Thus, he is distinguished from the European counterpart who emphasises his rights Accordingly, the foremost function of a king is to make his subjects obedient to their own duties If the king fails in his own duty, the subjects would go astray, each from his own work in life and this would bring in misery and disorder in the state That is why Śukra holds that the important function of a king is to make the subjects acquire the habits of performing their duties by the use of his terrible sceptre [52]

The responsibility of the king to perform his own duty by enforcing people to follow their own duties begins from the very moment of his assumption of the royal position [53] Thus, Śukra maintains that from the very moment a man attains the position of a king through skill, might or valour, no matter whether he is properly anointed and duly installed or not, he should begin to rule his subjects according to *Nīti*, being always above board and ever holder of the sceptre The person who augments the penance in the form of observing one's duty is respected even by gods, what to say of the human beings [54] The king should, therefore, practice his own duty, otherwise his influence will be on the wane [55]

Powers · The virtues and qualities of the king flow from the traditional belief in king's divine origin Śukra also subscribes to the theory of the divine origin of the king and prescribes his functions metaphorically. The elements of a king are derived from gods and each god bestows upon him certain powers Śukra believes that king is made out of permanent elements of *Indra*, *Vāyu*, *Sūrya*, *Agni*, *Varuna*, *Soma* and *Kubera* and is the lord of both the movable and

the immovable worlds [56] Like *Indra*, the sovereign is able to protect wealth and possessions As *Vāyu* or air is the spreader of scents, so the king is the generator of good and evil actions Similarly, like the *Sūrya* as the dispellar of darkness and the creator of light, the king is the founder of religion and destroyer of irreligion Like *Yama* who punishes human beings after death, the monarch is the punisher of offences in this world The king resembles *Agni* as the purifier and enjoyer of all gifts The king maintains everybody by his wealth, in the same way as *Varuna*, the god of water, sustains every thing by supplying moisture. As the *Soma* pleases human beings by rays so also the king satisfies everybody by his virtues and activities As *Kubera* the god of wealth protects the jewels of the universe, the king protects the treasure and possessions of the state. As the *Soma* does not shine well if deprived of one of its parts, so the king does not flourish unless he has all the above features in his personality[57]

Attributes The sovereign is always possessed of the attributes of seven persons, viz , father, mother, preceptor, brother, friend, *vaiśravan* or *Kubera* and *Yama* As the father provides his off-springs with attributes, i e., by education, etc , the king too can endow his subjects with good qualities. Just as the mother pardons offences and nourishes the children, the king does likewise. The king, like the *Guru*, can be the best adviser of the subjects The king's share of the people's wealth can be like a brother's share in family property. He, like a friend, enjoys the confidence and shares the secrets of others He is also *Yama* as he punishes the guilty The king who possesses all these attributes is bound to be prosperous along with his people[58].

Functions : Śukra enumerates eight functions of the king : (i) punishment of the wicked (ii) charity (iii) protection of the subjects (iv) performance of *Rājasūya* and other sacrifices (v) equitable realisation of revenues (vi) conversion of princes into tributory chiefs (vii) quelling of enemies and (viii) extraction of wealth from land [59] These functions can be classified as protection of person and property, administration of justice, spread of religion and culture, philanthrophy and charity and realisation of revenues

Protection · Śukra regards the protection of subjects, *Prajānām Paripālanam* one of the primary functions, *Paramo Dharmah*,[60] of the king and categorically states that the gods ruin and cast down the king who is not a protector *Araksitā* of his subjects [61] Like the oil--less sesame, *Śandatila* such a king is of no use, who is not able to protect his subjects [62] However, the protection of person and property depends upon the role of punishment, *Danda*

Punishment (*Danda*) : Śukra defines *Danda* as that which leads to the giving up of bad practices and which restrains through penalties a check over people [63] As the king is the lord, the punishment is to be administred by him Through the fear of the punishment, every one is disciplined into the habit of following his own *Dharma* or duty He advises his king that he should make the subjects acquire the habits of performing their duties by the use of terrible sceptre [64]

Methods of Punishment The various methods of punishment for internal administration and international relations, shelled out by Śukra, are · censure, insult, starvation, imprisonment, oppression, destruction of goods, expulsion from the city, marking of the body, shaving of half portions of the body, carrying the person over ignoble animals, such as, asses, mutilation, and execution as well as warfare [65] These are the various methods of punishment

Utility of Punishment · Śukra emphasises the utility of *Danda* for a king, the fear of punishment makes the subjects turn virtuous, not commit aggressions and not speak untruths Even the cruel become mild, the wicked give up wickedness, beasts become subdued, the thieves get frightened, the garrulous become dumb, the enemies are terrified and become tributaries and others are demoralised [66] The objective of administering punishment should always be for furtherance of morality and religion Punishment is good even for elites who suffer from pride, forget their duties and tend to go astray [67] All the methods and means bear fruit through the king's policy of punishment That is the great stay of virtues, the king is deserted by good people and acquires sins by always not punishing

those who ought to be punished, and punishing those who ought not and by being a severe punisher [68] Śukra then advises the king how to exercise punishment The king should punish his own subjects by being mild internally but cruel externally, and should be severe in punishment towards those who are by nature evil-doers [69]

Offences · Śukra enumerates four kinds of offences—that through the body, the speech, the mind and association [70] Further, an offence may be either voluntarily or involuntarily committed It canbe temporary, constant, habitual and natural The king should know the mental offence by studying the eyes, mouths, expressions and feelings, etc , the physical by the actions and the vocal by harsh words, and those arising from inter course by studying the companionships [71] The king, according to the magnitude and levity of each offence, should provide punishments for the crimes committed A sinner should be imprisoned and made to perform ignoble works for the particular period, say, a month, three months,six months, one year or for whole life, but should not in any case be killed [72]

Employment of Punishment : In Śukra's scheme of punishment there is no provision for capital punishment [73] The king should avoid capital punishment as far as possible but punish the wicked by detention, imprisonment and repression Greed should not work on the king imposing financial penalites on the people These are the ways of punishment of the merciful king A severe king who takes away wealth ruthlessly, never forgives offences, alienates the exasperated people.[74]

Thus, Śukra does not favour strict punishment The king should have, as the situation demands, a lenient view regarding commitment of offences. Instead of being always strict, he should be merciful and and inflict punishment with discretion [75]

Śukra gives a long list of offenders, such as, the gambler, the thief, the cheat, the taker of the bribe, the poisoner, the addict to the prostitutes, the malicious, the seller of daughters, the murderer, the

temperer of witnesses, the helper of enemies the abuser of parents, chaste women and friends [76]

Such wicked persons should be expelled from the state They should be bound and transported to island or forts and employed in the work of repairing roads and made to live on insufficient and bad diet[77] The king should immediately extirpate those who are not loyal to the kingdom Śukra prefers first offenders to be bound in chain, second to be financially penalised one thousand *panas* for the worst offence He prescribes 500 *panas* for the lesser offence, half of *panas* for the rest[78]

Justice From the very early times, the majesty and supremacy of law as *Dharma* or *Vyavahāra*, has been eloquently proclaimed The *Brhadāranyaka Upanisad* says that there is nothing higher than law A weak man controls the strong man by law "Verily that which is law is truth, therefore, they say of a man who speaks the truth, 'he speaks the law , or of a man who speaks the law, 'he speaks the truth', verily, both these are the same thing'"[79]

Indian theory of kingship treated the kings as trustees of law, put obediance to divine law above everything else, and required the king to take the oath that he would safeguard the moral, spiritual and material well-being of the people by strictly enforcing the law of the state As the material and spiritual prosperity of the country largely depends upon the observance of law, the administration of law and justice has been the most important function of the king

Śukra deals with *Rājadharma* in detail including judicial functions of the king in the fourth chapter of his treatise *Śukra Nīti* First of all, Śukra defines judicial proceeding or *Vyavahāra* as discriminating the good from the evil in a way that furthers the virtues and interests of both the people and the king [80] The wicked man is one who destroys the good, is an enemy of the state and a propagator of vices.[81] The furtherance of the good of the people and their protection is possible only when actions of the wicked are prevented [82]

Exercise of Law : For the well-being and the prosperity of the state, Śukra advises the king to look after law-suits attentively according to the dictates of *Dharma-Śāstras* without anger or greed He should associate the chief justice, *Amātya*, Brāhmana and Priest in deciding cases He should neither unilateraly try the cases of two parties nor hear their statements Either the wise king or the councillors should never observe secrecy in trials [83]

Where the king cannot personally attend to administration of justice, he should appoint Brāhmanas, who are versed in the Vedas, self-controlled, high born, impartial, unagitated, calm, active and devoid of anger [84] If the Brāhmanas are not learned enough, the king should appoint a *Ksatriya* for the purpose or a *Vaiśya* who is versed in *Dharma Śāstras* but reject a *Śūdra*[85] The justices are required to be conversant with actions, character and attribute of the people and expected to be impartial to both enemies and friends Those who are not idle, who are masters over anger, passions and greed and who speak gentle are to be appointed to offices by the king regardless of caste-considerations [86]

Since a layman cannot identify persons, such as, foresters, merchants, soldiers, ascetics and those practising occult arts, the help of foresters, merchants, soldiers, etc , as the case may be, ought to be solicited. The best judges of the merits of the case are persons associated with the parties in disputes, live in the neighbourhood and are familiar with the circumstances of the case [87] The king should, however, appoint officers who are virtuous, well-tried and capable of bearing burden of the administration of justice [88]

In administering justice, Śukra is very particular about the injunctions prescribed by the *Dharma Śāstras* and the consultation with the members of the jury. According to him, the king who through delusion and passion decides the cases against the dictates of the *Śāstras* is soon overpowered by enemies.[89] Similarly, the arbitarary actions of a king, without the advice of councillors, lead to hell and destruction and ruin life and wealth [90] Śukra categorically states that the king who knows the *Śāstras*, speaks the voice of god.[91] Even outsiders who know the law can give their opinions on the cases in dispute.

Any man who knows the *Dharma* can speak authoritatively irrespective of his formal position [92] Any one who attends the court should speak the truth Truth alone blesses the witness and increases virtue The man who keeps silence or utters falsehood is a sinner [93]

Śukra suggests that *Kula*, *Śreni* and *Gana* form the threefold hierarchy of bodies of self-adjudication Whenever these three bodies fail, the king along with officers is entitled to interfere [94] The cases have to be tried by the king separately with men of various grades of intelligence, several times [95] Śukra mentions ten component requisites of the administration of justice · king officers, councillors, *smrti śāstras*, accountant, clerk, gold, fire, water and one's friends [96]

The king should enter the court modestly together with the Brāhmanas and the ministers who know statecraft with the object of investigating the cases He should proceed with the work after taking the seat of justice He should put questions to the parties impartially The king should perform his duty after carefully studying the established customs as mentioned in the *Śāstras* as well as those that are practised by castes, villages, corporation and families [97]

Śukra scrupulously maintains that the king, for winning the heart of people, should not unnecessarily interfere with the customs and usages of the folk Customs that have been introduced in the country, caste or race should be maintained in the same condition for otherwise the people get agitated [98]

Sukra prescribes that morning is the best time for adjudicating cases which involve application of the socio-religious regulations laid down in the *Smrtis* The day time similarly is good for cases which involve the breach of laws made by the king [99] However, for cases of murder, thieving, robbery and felonies, no time is fixed. These require immediate disposal [100]

The trial should begin with the plaintiff bending low before the king to submit his petition The king in council, after duly receiving him, should first console and comfort him before the trial commences.

He should then enquire of the plaintiff standing before him submissively, 'What is your business ? What is your grief ? Do not be afraid, Who and under what circumstances has oppressed you ?' Having, thus, interrogated him the king should hear him The clerk who records anything different from what is spoken by the plaintiff and the dependent should be severely chastised by the king The king should punish those persons, who extort written statements from anybody, just like thieves In the absence of the king, the chief justice should put these questions Neither the king nor his officers should ever fabricate false cases Passion, greed, anger or his own information should not motivate the king to try the cases that have not been formally presented for judgement Nevertheless, he should even without any complaint take up for adjudication cases of misdemenour, felonies and cases in which the king himself is a party [101]

Śukra enumerates crimes, such as, destruction of roads, water-reservoirs, houses, tresspassing, serving king's enemies, adultery, pregnancy without husband, speaking slang and the destruction of foetus [102] The king should, by exemplary punishment, deprive those judges and officers of their jurisdiction who without carefully considering the cases pass sentences through fear, greed or passion [103] The king should first discriminate the cases as to their cognisability before accepting them for trial The king should have the depositions signed by the complainant and then put his seal on it The king should dismiss the plaintiff after his plaint has been duly framed and accepted He should summon, by warrant or by officers, the man against whom people complain as having committed or threatened some wrong He should not summon diseased people, children, drunk, mad, young maids, minors, etc , in important cases After knowing the circumstances of the case, the time, place as well as the importance of events, the king may summon even the diseased persons by conveyance [104]

Śukra, like the modern times, advises that the plaintiff and the defendent, ignorant of the legal procedure or who are busy otherwise, are not good speakers, are foolish, can choose their representatives to plead their case [105] The king should accept cases even if they are brought forward by father, mother, friend, brother and other relatives Only

the man who knows the law and knows the *Dharma* should be appointed as a pleader The king should punish the pleader who receives fees otherwise [106] If after the plaint has been lodged the two parties die, their sons, who know of the case, should be the cognisable parties, otherwise, the king should withdraw the case from trial In cases of murder, thieving, adultery, abduction, forgery, sedition and robbery, there are to be no lawyers as representatives of defendents [107] The perpetrators are to answer the court personally

The security-amount has to be taken from both the parties The person who stands security is to be non-slothful, a good speaker, trusted by the people, renowned, wealthy and capable of investigating cases [108] To prevent forgery and fabricating false evidence, the king who wants truth, should keep both parties under detention for studying the cases They may be maintained by themselves or by the state but will have to maintain their families with their own incomes

The plaintiff who after having mentioned his case gives that up or contradicts himself by taking some other side is a mean man and must be punished After the plaint has been determined, corrected according to what is acceptable and what is not and well discussed, the defendent's version is to be recorded The plaintiff is to be questioned first followed by the defendent The chief justice is to receive answers to the queries through the officers The reply to the plaint is to be written in the presence of the plaintiff so as to cover the whole case and give the essential points in no vague words and in a manner intelligible without comments Cross questioning should disclose those facts which may have been suppressed by both parties in their statements through wickedness or ignorance Those officers who do not receive the statements of the two parties in the presence of each other are punishable like thieves [109]

The four elements of the case, according to Śukra, are first, plaintiff's statement, second, reply of the defendent, third, actions of the two parties, and last, decision and judgement The cases should be tried in the order of their arrival, or of their importance, or of the

gravity or injuries suffered and losses sustained, or in order of the castes The king should never investigate cases with only one kind of evidence, e g , by mere possession of documents or witnessess The ingenious cheats can easily produce duplicates of documents by forging Hence, on the strength of documents alone, no point can be absolutely gained The king should not delay in taking evidence, for it might cause defects which may lead to the miscarriage of justice [110] The king should record evidences in the presence of both parties, should not receive them in their absence The man who complains against somebody without any reason is punishable and his case should be dismissed forthwith After having carefully considered the evidence, the king should decide upon the case The man who bears false evidence and the man who suppresses evidences are to receive double the punishment

There is a semblance of modernity in Śukra's prescription in case of division of opinion The king should go by the verdict of the majority, if there be equality or sameness, he should accept the opinions of the virtuous and always the opinions of those who are well qualified [111] Even the king is a sinner if he decides cases in an absolute and arbitrary manner, therefore, he should administer the secular interests in harmony with the spirit of *Dharma Śāstras* Śukra's views seem modern when he observes that if somebody objects to the judgment as well as the decree of the king on the basis that it conflicts with the canons of *Dharma*, he can have a retrial on the depositing of double the fine. A retrial or appeal may arise in those cases which have been vitiated by the undue pressure of witnessess and officers and by the defects of the king's own actions [112]

Whenever an *Amātya* or the president of the judicial assembly would decide a case, contrary to law, the king shall re-examine it again but also impose a fine of a thousand *panas* [113] Punishment is indispensable in some cases for directing people to the right path The king should give to the victorious party *Jayapatra* or Document of Victory after it has been carefully analysed by the officers and accepted by the other party. Otherwise, the king should imprison the plaintiff for many years, and punish him according to the seriousness of the false charges and similarly honour him who is falsely accused.

Śukra attaches great importance to the judicial functions of the king by emphasising the fact that the investigation of the cases should be according to the tenets of *Dharma* He observes that the subjects follow the king, as the rivers the ocean, who investigates the cases according to *Dharma* by restraining his passions and anger [114]

Revenue Sound finances are the *sine qua non* of a stable and prosperous state Collection of revenue is meant for the maintenance of the army and the subjects and for the performance of sacrifices [115] This leads to the king's happiness in this life and hereafter, otherwise to misery Śukra, therefore, is strict about the measures for the realisation of revenue Accordingly, the king should not give up even an *Angula* of land in such a way as to part with rights to it [116] However, the ruler should realise his share of produce from land according to *Prajāpati's* system, but in times of danger and difficulty, according to *Manu's* system, not otherwise. It means that under exceptional circumstances, like war, calamity, etc , the king, according to Śukra, has to use harsh means to collect taxes but in ordinary circumstances, the revenue is to be realised without causing hardship to people Śukra condemns the raising of the revenue for the personal benefit of the king and his family The collection of revenue, according to him, when for wife and children as for self-enjoyment leads to hell and does not give happiness hereafter That which is earned wrongfully is the cause of sin The kingdom where wealth is amassed by forsaking morality and by oppressing the people is destroyed [117]

Taxation : Śukra suggests the principle of taxation of the art of the gardener who deprives the trees of their products but not of their life Taxation is a painful necessity but must not be heavy enough to kill the people The collector of taxes is to be like a gardener who collects flowers and fruits after having duly nourished the trees with care [118] He further elaborates his point by adding that the tax is to be realised in the fashion of the weaver of the garland and not of the coal merchant [119] What Śukra means by the analogy of the coal merchant is that as the coal-merchant sets fire to the woods to make charcoal and thus destroys the whole property, the king should not extract tax by destroying the productive capacity altogether. But as

the weaver of garlands plucks from the tree only those flowers which are fully bloomed and preserves the rest as well as the trees for future use, similarly, the king should collect tax from public by preserving and sustaining them

Śukra is of the view that in normal times the king should not increase his treasure by augmenting land revenues and duties and by taking dues from holy places and properties consecrated to divine purposes But the king is allowed to receive from the people special grants of fines, duties, etc , when he has to maintain and raise army to destroy the enemy [120] In times of danger Śukra allows the king to receive the wealth of rich man provided he supplies him means to live But when he is free from danger, he should return the amount to him together with the interest [121] If he does not do so, the subjects, the state and the king, all are ruined

Śukra makes three categories of kings on the basis of realisation of revenue and says that the best king is he, who following the practice of the weaver of garlands, protects his subjects, makes the enemies tributaries and increases the treasure by their wealth The middling king is one who does this by following the practice of the *Vaiśya* and the worst king by receipts from fines, holy places and lands consecrated to gods.[122]

Śukra divides the source of revenue of the king into *Śulka* and *Bhāga*. *Śulka* or duty is the king's share received from the buyer and the seller [123] The regions of *Bhāga* or duty are the market places, streets and mines. Duties are to be levied on goods only once The duty should not be realised more than once by the king craftily The king should receive the thirty-second portion from the seller or buyer According to *Ś*ukra, the twentieth or sixteenth part, as the duty, is not drawback upon the price The king should not realise duty from the seller when he receives what is less than just equal to the cost He should receive it from the buyer after seeing that he is a gainer [124]

The *Bhāga* or revenue from land whether great, middling or small is to be taken when the amount of the produce has been ascertained.[125]

The king should realise one-third, one fourth, or one-half, from places which are irrigated by tanks, canals and wells, by rains and by rivers, respectively He should have one-sixth from barren and rocky soils. The king after the expenses have been met should realise from minerals at the following rates half of gold, one third of silver, one-fourth of copper, one-sixth of zinc and iron, half of gems, half of glass and lead [126] He should realize one-third, one-fifth, one-seventh one-tenth, or one-twentieth from the collectors of grasses and woods He should have one-eighth of the increase of goat, sheep, cows, buffaloes, and horses, and one-sixteenth of the milk of the buffaloes, the goats and female sheep If people undertake new industries or cultivate new lands and dig tanks, canals, wells etc , for their good, the king should not demand anything of them until they realise profit twice of the expenditure [127]

The king should promptly realize the land revenues, wages, duties, interests, bribes and rents without any delay He should give to each cultivator the deed of rent having his own mark-seal Having determined the land revenue of the village, the king should receive it from one rich man in advance or guarantee for the payment of that either by monthly or periodical instalments Or the king should appoint officers, called *Grāmapas*, by paying one-sixteenth, one-twelfth, one-eighth, or one-sixth of his own receipts [128] The king should receive milk of cows, rice for the kith and kin but should not receive paddy and cloths from buyers for his enjoyment He should realize thirty-second portion of the increase or interest of the usurer He should receive rents from houses and abodes as from cultivated lands, also have land tax from shopkeepers For the preservation and repair of the streets, he should have dues from those who use the streets.[129] Śukra concludes that the king should, thus, enjoy fruits everywhere but like a servant should protect all [130]

Thus, Śukra's views on the revenue and its collection are appropriate and are relevent even to modern times The land which is irrigated by rivers is certain for cultivation The demand of a king may be high, but where the agriculture is precarious and uncertain, the demand

is naturally to be small Similarly, Śukra is very economical in suggesting the king to collect revenue from and through one man who is to be responsible for the total dues of the village

Social Welfare Śukra believes that the king, apart from protecting people's property, administering justice and collecting revenue should also take care of religion and culture for the harmonious growth and mental upliftment of the state He, therefore, advises the king to appoint that man to the post of superintending the religious establishments and institutions who is mindful of his own duty, always devoted to religious practices and has no greed and hankering [131] The king, to discharge his religious obligation to society, should build temples for *Visnu*, *Śankara*, *Ganeśa*, *Sūrya* and *Pārvatī* in the square or the centre of the village [132] The king should always set up such gods in the kingdom and every year perform festivals in their honour He should never keep in the temple broken images or made according to the false measurement and also repair carefully broken idols and temples He should always worship the gods and supervise the entertainments in their honour but never indulge in self-enjoyment [133]

Śukra, in order to promote emotional and cultural integration of the people, advises the king to organise festivals He should support and take part in the folk-songs and the popular festivals The king should celebrate the festivals that are observed by the people and enjoy them. He should also honour regularly persons who are very high in arts and sciences The king should always take such steps as may advance the arts and sciences of the country [134] He must identify himself with the people so that when people are happy he should be happy and be aggrieved when they are in grief

The king should observe charity. He should gift the land to the poor people for life He should also give away lands for the gods, for parks and public grounds and for dwelling houses to the peasants [135] Among the works of public utility, the king is advised by Śukra to build rest-houses for travellers and provide them with tanks The highways (*Rāja-mārgas*) are to be built both in towns and villages and used for

the conveyance of marketable commodities Many roads are to be laid according to the number of towns The king should have domestic plants planted in villages and wild trees in the forests.[136] He should get planted trees near villages which bear good flowers. Sources of water like wells canals, tanks and ponds should be provided with stair-cases They should have width twice or thrice the depths and footpaths around them Wells and tanks should be many in the state so that water is in plenty and easily available Bridges should be constructed over rivers There should also be boats and water conveyances for crossing the rivers The king should appoint the superintendent of charities a person who does not disappoint the beggar, does not amass wealth, is charitable, has no greed, can detect the merits of others, is not slothful, is kind and gentle in words, knows the proper objects of charity and is very humble [137]

This points to the views of *Ś*ukra regarding the considerable development of social life and high sense of duty of the king towards public and his organising capacity and administrative ability

Routine of the king About the daily routine of the king, *Ś*ukra recommends that the king living in the capital city should get up in the last *Yama* and for two *Muhūrtas* consider problems of budgeting, say, the amount of fixed income and fixed expenditure and also the quantum of expenditure in the treasury He should also know the balance of the amount left. After ascertaining from the records as well as by personal knowledge, he should assess the amount expected to be spent on that day [138] Next, one *Muhūrta*, is prescribed for the clearing of toilet and bath, etc., followed by two *Muhūrtas* for prayers, study and charity and one *Muhūrta* at dawn for physical exercise, including elephants-ride, horses-ride, and running carriages Spending one *Muhūrta* in giving away prizes, he should spend another four over issuing orders, along with preparing estimates of income and expenditure about grains, gold, jewels and soldiers One *Muhūrta* is to be devoted to meals For one *Muhūrta* he is supposed to inspect old and new goods He should spend two *Muhūrtas* over matters explained by chief justices and officers; and equal time for hunting and gambling

He should spend one *Muhūrta* to supervise the military exercises of the regiments, one *Muhūrta* each for evening prayers, dinner and two *Muhūrtas* for getting informations given by the secret spies He should sleep for eight *Muhūrtas* Śukra advises that the following of this routine ensures the increased happiness of the king Dividing the day and night, thus, into thirty *Muhūrtas*, he should usefully spend rather than waste it on enjoying women and liquor [139] Śukra believes that the work done according to a settled schedule is bound to produce good results, just as rains in time produce plenty, but not otherwise

According to Śukra, the king, as a matter of duty, should ride on elephants to tour the city for pleasing the people He must personally visit annually the *grāmas*, cities, districts and provinces and find out which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff or officers, and deliberate upon the matters brought forward by the people [140] He should side not with his officers but with the sufferers In case one hundred men accuse an officer, he should be immediately dismissed [141] He should punish the minister found guilty of betrayal more than once and dismiss him who by nature commits offences [142] He should have the offices of work guarded on all sides by four, five or six excellent watchmen, well-trained in the use of arms and weapons He should keep himself informed through his chief officers the daily developments in diffrent areas He should rotate the watchmen every day For the prevention of thieves and bad characters, the watchmen should at night police the *Beethis*, i e , lanes, every half *yama*, i e , hour and-a-half

The king should promulgate and proclaim widely against falsehoods on the part of anyone regarding the system and standard of weights and measures, currency, extracts, metals, ghee, honey, milk, fat, oil, ground substances and other things Statements must not be forged nor bribes be accepted [143] The supreme duty of the king is to maintain amity and peace The greatest of all dangers to peace and security is the existence of conflicts, disunions, rivalry and partisan spirit Śukra, therefore, advises the king that he should endeavour to prevent and patch up discord between husband and wife, master

and servant, brother and brother, preceptor and pupil, as well as between father and son The king should see that there is no misuse of public places and other works of public utility He should be careful that no one obstructs the tanks, wells, parks, boundaries, religious houses, temples and roads [144]

Śukra authorises the king to interfere with practices and professions which are injurious for public safety and social peace He suggests that the use of arms distillation of wines, the drawing up of the deeds indicating a sale, gift or loan and medical practice should not be carried out without receiving a royal patent, charter or license which testifies to their bonafide character [145] All measurements, ascertained by the king, have to be specific and fixed The king should punish those offenders who, after hearing his decrees and commands, would act contrary to them The king should always inform the subjects of the laws by the beating of the state-drum and also display them as written notices in esplanades [146] He should every night get the reports from the secret spies and informers about the opinions, sentiments and demonstrations of the subjects and officers of administration, enemies, soldiers, members, relatives and the females of the inner apartments [147] The king should discover the efficiency of the spy either directly or indirectly or by some art who has skilfully put on the garb of a religious student, or a hermit, a poorman, or a magician The king who accepts a spy without testing can be misguided and will have to repent eventually [148]

The wise king should daily inspect the elephants, horses, chariots, cattle, servants, officers, provisions, and soldiers He should preserve the fit and discard the old ones He should train the officers appointed with salaries in the cultivation of the arts and after they have finished their training appoint them in their special fields [149] For the convenience of travellers, the king should protect the roads and those who create problems for travellers must be repressed [150]

Kinds of king Śukra, on the basis of the qualities and functions, classifies kings According to him, there are three classes of kings as

there are three kinds of penances—*Sāttvika Rājasika* and *Tāmasika* The king's character corresponds to the penance he performs [151]

A *Sāttvika* king is one who is consistent in his duty, protects his subjects, performs all the sacrifices, conquers his enemies, is charitable, forbearing and valorous, and has no attachment to enjoyment, and is dispassionate Such a king attains salvation at death [152] On the other hand, *Tāmasika* king goes to hell at death

The *Rājasika* king is one who remains miserable, is not compassionate, licentious, envious, untruthful, vain, attached to pleasure. Also, he who practises deceit and villainy, lacks integrity in thought, speech and action, is quarrelsome, and is associated with lower classes. One who is slavish and violates the *Nīti*, creates intrigues, falls into this category He becomes lower animal or unmovable thing after death.[153]

The *Sāttvika* king enjoys the blessings of the gods, the *Rājasika* those of the men, the *Tāmasika* of the demons Mind should hence be devoted to *Sattva* [154] Sukra regards virtuous king as a part of gods and who is otherwise is a part of demons The *Tāmasika* king is an enemy of religion and oppressor of his subjects The king who is restrained, valorous and skilled in the use of arms and weapons, who is the queller of foes and not independent of *Nīti*, who has acquired the arts and sciences, who is not an associate of the lower classes, who respects old men and attends to *Nīti* and who is respected by meritorious men, is known to be a part of the gods [155] The king who is otherwise is a part of demons and gets hell

Personal life

Food : Poisoning of foods meant for kings or the members of the royal family was one of the prominent social evils and Śukra advises the king against indiscriminate use of food and take great precaution in this respect He says that the king for fear of poisons should get his food examined by offering it to monkeys and cocks. He advises the king to take mixed diet and there must be no preponderance of any one particular taste He should take meals, having six, not simply

two or three tastes, not tasteless, not over-tasteful, not pungent, not excessively sweet or sour.[156]

Dress The king should enter upon the throne equipped with his special signs, well-dressed, well-decorated, armoured, with the crown on, with effective missiles and uncovered weapons and very alert The two guards bearing gold sceptres should be on one side to announce the presence of the king for hearing the people's grievances.[157]

Amusement The king should mix with the people in parks and places of entertainment and be informal in participating in public entertainment, such as, women, actors, musicians, poets and magicians He should sport with tigers, peacocks, birds and other animals of the forest and in the course of hunting should kill the wild animals [158]

Physical Exercise Śukra advises the king to undertake physical exercises including military exploits He should, morning and evening, sport with elephants, horses, chariots and other conveyances [159]

Body guards and Retinue The king should always engage near him the services of soldiers who are to precede and follow him, gaudily dressed, adept in the rules of etiquette and morality and supplied with useful missiles and naked-weapons He should be accompanied by his kinsmen, friends, and the state officers who are equal to him in terms of qualification He should never be in the company of low class people [160]

Family The eldest son in king's family should succeed as a king, the others are to be his assistants and auxilliaries Closer kinsmen and brothers-in-law are to be always appointed in the military departments The females are to be appointed in the supervising of clothes, ornaments and vessels The mother, and the lady who is of the same rank as the mother, should be appointed in charge of the kitchen [161] Śukra, thus, advises the king to keep happy the members of royal family by the grant of pensions or by appointment as officers, chiefs, and

governors of the district The king should have his bedmate, his queen who is a woman devoted to him, beautiful, sweet-tempered, well-dressed, well-adorned and chaste

Palace The palace is to be in the midst of the council buildings, well-adorned with spacious tanks, wells and water-pumps, with stables for elephants, horses and cattle, having sides of equal length in all directions and high southwards and low northwards [163]

Conveyance king's chariot should be made of iron He should keep for himself a chariot which should be mobile on wheels, with a seat for the driver in the middle, provided with weapons and missiles in the interior, beautiful to look at and driven by good horses.[162]

To sum up The king as painted by Śukra should possess qualities like compassion, self discipline, morality and efficiency in the knowledge of the science of politics His primary functions are the protection of people and property, punishment of wicked, administration of justice, collection of revenue, maintenance of law and order and general welfare of people. His prominent duties are to tour the city and the country, to keep strict watch over his officers and servants, proclamation of state-laws to keep army and people united and to make the *Rāstra* powerful and prosperous by quelling enemies and keeping his people integrated and happy

The cardinal point which emerges by the study of the treatment of king in the *Śukra Nītī* is that though Śukra belongs to traditional caste-ridden society, he does not attach sanctity to caste and creed, throughout his treatise, the emphasis being on quality rather than on caste In his system, the king is a king not by birth but by his qualities. Not heredity, but personal qualifications, constitute the sole title to kingship Śukra, by the praise of quality and work, introduces a new basis and interpretation to the degenerated caste-system In the social ideology of Śukra, therefore, a *non Ksatriya* can also be a commander of army on the basis of the quality of bravery and valour, and a person expert in law whether called or not can deliver judgment

Śukra, as a political reformer, strongly asserts that discipline descends from top to bottom and not *vice-versa*. He, therefore, observes, 'The king should first provide discipline to himself, then to the sons, to the ministers, to the servants and last to the subjects. He should never display his ability in only advising others' [164]

Śukra recommends a strict vigilance and control over his king Apprehending that the king may turn to be arrogant, dictatorial and arbitrary in his behaviour with the assumption of his office, he constantly advises him to keep his ministers and officers in good confidence and faith and never to arrive at political and other important deciscions all alone. He tersely observes 'Even the king who is proficient in all the sciences and a pastmaster in statecraft, should never, by himself, study political interests without reference to ministers '[165]

Śukra, though he believes in oligarchy and monarchical system of government, reflects the view of a modern democrat when he observes 'The unity of opinion possessed by many is more powerful than the king The rope that is made by a combination of many threads is strong enough to drag a lion '[166]

Thus, the pleasant colour painted in the ideal picture of the king by Śukra is morality, strict adherence to duty and self-discipline Accordingly, Śukra does not divorce politics from ethics and his views correspond with those of the Greek thinkers, Aristotle and Plato, as also with the traditional Indian school of thought who are concerned with the problem of the realisation of the highest good of man and the way how best it can be achieved through the state.

6
CROWN PRINCE

The classical notion of Indian kingship assumes that the welfare of the people depends upon the nature and training of the king The scriptures have propounded the principle that the king should be scruplously trained from the very infancy The king was expected not only to be virtuous, but was also to cultivate wide interests and academic distinctions The ancient writers have consistently maintained that the future king should be well-grounded in all the four areas of knowledge *ānvīksikī*, *trayī*, *vārtā* and *dandanīti*, that is, logic, the three *vedas*, economics, and the science of polity

There are numerous historical evidences in support of the fact that the princes were sent to the *Āśramas* of competent teachers who imparted knowledge in the above mentioned areas as also moral and political training to them.[1] The *Mahābhārata* refers to *Bhīśma's* appointing *Gautama* to instruct the *Kaurava-Pāndava* princes of Hastinapur for receiving higher education in military science.[2] A large number of inscriptions indicate that princes were trained in many branches of learning, such as, military, administrative, religious, literary and artistic subjects [3]

Kauṭilya[4] prescribes that the princes should be kept under the charge of persons of good character in order to train them in practising self-restraint for controlling their senses. We learn from the *Kādambarī*, the renowned work of *Bāna Bhatta*, the court poet of king Harshavardhana, that the heir-apparent was given moral training, by

the wise minister of king *Tārāpīda* His teachings entitled *śukanāsop-deśa* are regarded as one of the master-pieces of princely education.

Training : Following his predecessors, Śukra[5] also stresses the need for the training of royal children. It is one of the first duties of rulers to study the comforts of those persons who belong to the royal family and have blue blood in their veins and who have interests in the state and its affairs So the heirs-apparents deserve special care of the reigning king They should be kept under constant and careful watch and supervision.

Śukra exhorts that the rulers should provide ample protection to the children of the royal families, especially those endowed with virtues valour, faith and goodness The rulers should not for their own benefit even mentally oppress those persons who are eligible to crown princeship Sufficient caution and intelligence are to be observed by the rulers in dealing with royal children who have tendency to be dangerous like lion-cubs[6] Unless properly looked after, they are likely to be destructive out of self-interest and might destroy the rulers. On the slightest opportunity, such children might instantly kill the king himself just as the lion-cubs kill the elephant at the first sight Royal children are like infatuated elephants without drivers They can kill even the parents,[7] what to say of brother or any body for that matter Reckless youngesters would demand greater attention and care since even a dull and undeserving youngester may aspire for power Thus, the rulers should keep the royal children under close vigilance about their behavi our They should employ psychological techniques and use royal servants for knowing their activities

Śukra, thus, cautions about the liked nature of royal chiidren, advises the ruler to train them properly He prescribes that the ruler for an all-round development of royal children should train them adequately in statecraft and archery The purpose of such training is to capacitate them for bearing harsh words and punishments. Masters of all arts and sciences, skilled in the feats of arms, upright in morals as

well as well-disciplined through ministers and councillors, the trainees should be well-equipped to face the challenges of rulership in times to come

Śukra provides a broad description of the system of education to be imparted to royal children He also gives an account of physical environment and surroundings amidst which the prince ought to be brought up He states the sort of comforts and decencies of material life to be offered to the prince for enjoyment Śukra asks the ruler to provide the prince with good dolls, fine garments, offer him the best seat, nourish him with good food and, thus, make him worthy of being a crown prince [8]

It is worth noticing that Śukra's recommendation of comfortable living for the prince is not without its advantage A prince who has to deal with multifarious and complex life-interests is expected to have a cheerful disposition, optimistic outlook and hopeful vision Sukra, therefore, prescribes not only military and moral education but also a comfortable physical environment and surrounding for a growing prince. The prince is to be fit and competent for the throne not only by hereditary qualities, but also by intellectual and military training He has to have ideas, manners and sentiments behoving royalty Without these natural and cultivated traits of character, it would be impossible for a prince to come up to the royal tasks and responsibilities Sukra doles out the specific warnings of the vicious effects of an undisciplined family, culture or a low dynasty over the prince Improper education and wrong training of royal children leads to doom A royal child falling on evil ways should be more cared for than neglected. A ruler is advised to use scoundrels to harass a problem-prince, who has taken to evil ways, for it is like training a wicked and wild elephant [9]

It is highly desirable for an affluent prince to remain modest. Śukra advises the king that the prince should abide by his father's command, since for a child, the father's command is his best ornament [10] Every morning, as a mark of respect, the crown prince should bow

down to his father, mother and preceptor. He should then give an account of day-to-day work done to the king Sukra narrates the consequences and the instances of failure through disobedience He maintains that royal children, even after attaining excellent positions, are thrown down like menial servants when they violate the command of their father, as happened with the sons of *Yayāti* and *Viśvāmitra* [11] Thus, the prince should always be habitually obedient in serving his father in word, thought and deed He should do everything to seek his father's satisfaction On the reverse, he should do nothing that brings pain to his father Further, he should act according to his father's pleasure and he should consider his father's enemy as his own. Nothing should be done which invites his father's disapproval.[12] Even if the father is at fault because of ill advice of sycophants and informers, the prince knowing his father's temperament should privately and in confidence explain him his (father's) lapses Besides, a good prince through artifices and mechanics should always try to elicit public opinion and the inward feeling of his subjects

The heir to the throne, on attaining the status of a crown princeship, should not out of vanity or wealth insult or oppress his mother, father, preceptor, brother, sister and friends, and kith and kin [13] Śukra would wish the crown prince to acquire capability for expanding his kingdom into an empire He, therefore, advises him not to be insolent, rude and haughty He visualises that persons most likely to create obstacles on his goal of sovereignty are members of his own family, relatives, kinsfolk, friends and favourites of the king and the people at large Hence for the peaceful transfer of the crown to him he has to be modest, courteous and mannerd to all concerned Besides, the prince, in order to establish his supremacy, should not only be physically vigorous but also be self-sacrificing so as to produce favourable image of himself all-around

The crown prince as a member of the household, should maintain the unity of the family He should satisfy the subjects by his learning, actions and character He should grow slowly and proportionately like the moon during the bright fortnight Śukra concludes that the prince who carries out these instructions and abides by these norms not only

acquires kingdom without pains but also enjoys the earth with his associates and councillors for ever.

Succession : On the question of succession, the Indian tradition upholps a twofold principle, one, for the common people and the other for the royal family. In the case of the ordinary families, property was to be divided among all the brothers but in case of monarchy, the law of primogeniture was in practice It was realised that the division of the empire among several brothers would not only weaken it but eventually lead to its destruction Hence, generally, the eldest son was to be coronated as the king The *Mahābhārata*[14] presents many instances of such a rule, such as, of king *Duśyanta* of *Kuru* dynasty and king *Parīkshita* and *Bṛhadāśva* of Ayodhya who had coronated their eldest sons, named, as, *Bharata, Sala* and *Kuvalayaśva*, respectively, as kings. Though the eldest son was generally regarded as the successor but it is not clear whether in all the cases this criterion was observed

Śukra enumerates eight persons from among whom the crown prince was to be selected The ruler should select as crown prince the offspring of the legally married wife who could perform the tasks of the state without idleness [15] Sukra imposes two conditions for the crown prince in order of priority · birth and personal merit. The candidate must be able to discharge his duties In the absence of the son, if there was an uncle (father's brother), who is younger than the reigning king, he should be appointed to that post Failing this, the next choice would fall on his own younger brother But if the king happened to have no younger brother, his own elder brother's son was to be the crown prince In the absence of these, the claim of an adopted child would be considered [16] However, the claim of the adopted child for crown-princeship was to be next to those who had been treated almost as a son. Thereafter, the grand-son through the daughter could claim the position The last alternative was to be the nephew through the sister.

Importance : Thus, it is obvious that Śukra accords a very high position to the crown prince He is the right eye, right ear and right hand of the king, whereas ministers constitute the left hand, left eye

and left ear [17] This shows that in the opinion of Śukra, the prince held a more dignified position than the high officials and dignitaries And, as such, the prince was to give the king full assistance

Since the crown prince was supposed to hold the reign of kingdom in due course, Śukra, like all other law makers, emphasised the proper upbringing, character, morality, training and selection of the crown prince He holds that utmost vigilance is to be observed in the training of the crown prince and care has to be taken to be keep him away from vices A crown prince, lacking proper training and devoid of good moral character, could create havoc in the state History bears ample testimony to the characters of the members of royal family who, for lack of morality and training, brought empires to ruin Śukra does not prefer an adopted son to succeed the throne and observes that the adopted sons should never even mentally be regarded as one's own children The desire to be adopted is motivated by greed You can not trust an adopted child to whom you bequeath everything, as your own son [18]

Especially notable is the fact that Śukra does not treat the daughter as inferior to the son The daughter happens to be as much a part of the flesh and blood of the parents as the son Hence, according to Śukra, there is no difference between the son and the daughter's son and the off-spring of daughter should not be considered in any way inferior to those of male issues [19] In this way, he advocates equal rights of men and women

Thus, Śukra places restraints upon the future king not simply by devising rules of morality and social ettiquette to be strictly followed by him, as by all other men, but also by prescribing regular courses of instruction and training as well as by employing, what may be regarded, as the positive and direct checks over monarchy Such a prince is destined to succeed in future

7

Administration

The classical theory of Indian kingship stresses the role of the king as an administrator, the promulgator of law implying the subordination of law and administration to a divine order The king's administration involved taking of an oath or swearing for safe-guarding the moral, spiritual and material well-being of the people by properly administering the law of the state Śukra, like *Kauṭilya* gives a detailed account of administration, both civil and military He points out that, by and large, the spiritual prosperity of a country depends upon efficacy and efficiency of the administration

Civil: Since the king is not able to discharge the functions of the state singlehandedly, he for the development and welfare of the state has to depend and rely on his servants Diversities of human conduct as well as the grades of excellence are measures of high or low status. No single individual can competently perform all the functions Therefore, the ruler should always appoint assistants who are high by birth, attainments and character Persons who are valorous, devoted and sweet-tounged, wise and can bear pain, have virtuous habits, who are pure, have no envy, passion, anger, cupidity and sloth[1] can save a king who has gone astray This shows that anybody and every body is not to be trusted If inappropriate persons are selected, the ruler falls from his duty as well as from his kingdom Śukra illustrates that the valorous and powerful monarch like *Duryodhana* went to the dogs through bad advisers [2] Hence, the ruler should be cautious regarding appointments of advisers in order to avert any calamity.

In the selection of servants, Śukra lays stress more on work, character and merit rather than on caste or family. Only in marriages and dinner parties, considerations of family need be compulsorily observed But when the question is of appointment to political offices, neither the superiority of caste nor of family is to be asserted Only work, character and merit are to be respected and given due consideration [3]

Śukra enumerates the characteristics of a good servant, as truthfulness, good family, good habits, contentment with salary, sweet tongue, efficiency, purity, firmness, skilfulness and aversion to evil ways, etc [4] An excellent servant is one who discusses the evil deeds of his master privately, i e., does not give publicity to them Śukra warns that cheats, miserable, greedy, passionate, vicious, gamblers, atheists, vain, envious, ferocious, irreligious persons cannot be good servants [5]

The priest, the viceroy, the premier, the commander, the councillor, the judge, the scholar, the *Sumantraka*, the *Amātya,* as well as the spy—these are the ten servants or departments of the king The incomes of these officers are one-tenth more than those of subsequent men upto the spies The priest is superior to all others, the mainstay of the king and the kingdom. The viceroy comes next, followed by the premier, the *Sachiva*, the minister, the justice, the scholar, the *Sumantra*, the *Amātya* and lastly, the spy These officers are successively meritorious in order [6]

The *Purodhā (priest)* is the man who is versed in the *Mantras* and rituals, master of three sciences, skilful at work, devoid of greed and passions, equipped with knowledge of the science of archery, scholar of the science of moral as well as religious interests and master of military implements and tactics.[7] The *Pratinidhi* (Vice-Regent) is the person who knows what is to be done and what is not to be done. The *Pradhāna* (Chief Secretary) is he who supervises all things. The *Sachiva* (War Secretary) is the man who knows all about the army. The *Mantrī* (Foreign Secretary) is one who is adept in diplomacy. The *Paṇḍita*

(Learned Adviser) is the person who is well up in the theory of religion and morals The *Prādvivāka* (Chief Justice) is he who has knowledge of men, *śāstras* and morals The *Amātya* (Land and Revenue Secretary) is the person who has knowledge of lands and records The *Sumantra* (Finance Secretary) is he who knows of the incomes and disbursements The *Dūta* (Ambassador) is the man who knows the innermost feelings of other men and can study their expressions and movements, has general memory, knows the conditions of time and place, can speak well and is fearless [8]

Out of the ten *Prakrtis* (Executives) of the king the *Purodhā* (Priest) occupies an important position. The enumeration of the attributes of the Priest by Śukra gives us an idea of the all-round culture he is expected to acquire Not only a mere knowledge of the technique of sacrificial rites and ceremonies but he is also expected to have a sound liberal education

What is of special significance in the qualities of the Priest of Śukra is his mastery over several branches of learning He should master the three *vedas* technically known as *Trayī*, the six *Vedāngas*, sciences which introduce learners to the study of the *Vedas*, the science of religious interests of men, *Nīti Śāstra*—the science of social, economic and political morals and the art of warfare Thus, as observed by B K Sarkar,[9] the system of education for the Priest, apart from the moral and physical training, also includes within its fold intellectual culture, training in Economics, Theology, Sociology and Military Science This is why the Priest occupies the prominent position among the ten main Executives of the government which the king of Śukra heads.

The function of the *Pratinidhi* (Vice-regent) is to advise the king as to when a thing should be done immediately and when refrain from doing a thing, make him act upto his advice and if he does not abide by him he should go on explaining.[10] Thus, Vice-regent is not merely to ditto the king at every step but must be bold enough to forbid bad courses of action and recommend what appears to be good at a proper time.

The *Pradhāna* (Chief Secretaty) of Śukra is something like a general supervisor over all the affairs of the state and a controller of office-systems, for he has to discriminate between truth and untruth and find out the total amount of work among the functions discharged by all.[11]

The *Sachiva* of Śukra appears like modern Defence Minister or Commander-in-Chief of the Army, for he has to study the elephants, horses, chariots, foot soldiers, camels, oxen, bearers of royal emblems, arms and weapons, the various classes of ammunitions He has to find out the groups that are complete in all their parts, how many of these are in active condition, how many are old and how many are new, how many are unfit for work, how many troops are well equipped with arms, ordinance and gun powder and what is the amount of commissariat and other contingencies Then he has to communicate the result of his studies to the king [12]

The *Mantrī* (Foreign Minister) has to study when, how and to whom the four policies of *Sāma* (Peace), *Dāna* (Purchase) *Bheda* (Partition) and *Danda* (Punishment) have to be adopted and the various effects of each whether great, moderate or small Having decided on the course of action, he has to communicate the matter to the king [13]

The *Prādvivāka* (Chief Justice) should advise the king after examining, with the help of his peers-in-council, suits brought forward for judgment by men, by means of witnesses, written documents, artifices, etc. He has to determine the inevitable decision by the application of, reasoning, direct observation, inference, analogy as well as the local customs [11]

The judicial procedure as, envisaged by Śukra, shows that the Chief Justice is not to act alone but he is to be helped by peers The judgement is to be public for he has to be seated in the assembly. The examination of the suit is to be conducted in as many ways as possible so that the whole truth may be discovered All the methods of truth

investigation have to be used The manners, morals and customs of the folk that have been handed down from generations must also be investigated Thereafter, the judgement or sentence is to be delivered For, otherwise, the judgement might be correct in theory but wrong in practice In fact, it may be quite out of place Thus, Śukra's views regarding judgements are very close to modern times, for he is very particular that the sentence is to be delivered only when all evidences have been very carefully weighed and scrutinised.

The *Pandita* (Learned Advisor) has to study the rules of moral life prevailing in society in ancient and modern times, those which have been mentioned in the codes and those which are now opposed and those which militate against the customs of the folk He has to advise the king such rules of moral life which are efficacious both for this life and hereafter [15]

From the study of the functions of the *Pandita*, it is obvious that in the ideology of Śukra there cannot be a uniform standard of moral conduct It is always implied as it varies according to place, time and circumstances Accordingly, it is the foremost duty of the *Pandita* to study the manners and customs and always to be in touch with the latest thoughts and opinions of the people In other words, we can say that the *Pandita* has to grow with the world Thus, as is rightly observed by B K Sarkar, Śukra is not an advocate of the fixed codes of morality and religion which must be necessarily and absolutely respected at all times and places and under any circumstances whatsoever. On the other hand, Sukra recognises the relativity of religious, moral sentiments and practices to the social and other conditions of the world. He, therefore, presents not a rigid but a flexible attitude with regard to the customs and usages and comes close to our times.

The *Sumantra* (Finance Minister) is to communicate to the king the amount of commodities laid by, the amount of debts, etc , the amount spent and the amount of surplus or balance in both movables and unmovables during the course of the year [16] Thus, the *Sumantra*, like modern Finance Minister, has to study the budget and revenues

and to prepare the schedule of credits and debts, assets and liabilities of the state He has, in fact, to frame what is now known as the Balance Sheet.

The duty of the *Amātya* of Śukra is to keep the king informed about the cities, villages and forests of the state amount of land cultivated, amount realised without cultivation as nature's gift and amount realised through mines and jewels [17] Thus, the characteristics of Śukra's *Amātya* correspond with those of the agriculture and mining ministers of modern times

According to qualifications prescribed for the *Dūta* (Ambassador) by Sukra, he must have a retentive memory for he may have to communicate many things orally He should be the master of space and time, that is, he must have good knowledge of geography and history of the times [18] For, unless he is well grounded in the actual conditions of time and place and the special characteristics of the relations between persons he has to deal with, he is likely to misunderstand or misrepresent facts and, thus, bungle with the affairs of the state

From the study of the ten *Prakrtis*—the requisites of regal administration or departments of executive government of the king as elaborated by Śukra, it can be said that in the eye of Śukra the free opinion of ten Executives of the state is the main critetion of national well-being According to him, there can be no prosperity of the state if there be ministers or secretaries whom the king does not fear Such ministers are to be gratified like women with decorations and liveries of honour [19] He further observes that if there be no improvement in the state whether in extent, population, efficiency, revenue and administration, if on the countrary, the state be jeopardised through the ministers' counsels, what is the good of having such men as king's advisers [20] Śukra, therefore, laying stress on the well-being and prosperity of the state, warns the king against bestowal of permanent offices [21] Appointments to posts should be, according to him, on the basis of quality and good behaviour If the pride of position bewilders the officer and he proves unworthy of the responsibility, he should be

dismissed forthwith In the system of Śukra, work is the sole test and recommendation for office [22] Thus, the polity described by Śukra may appear formally despotic but he does not hesitate to say that the ministers who dare not raise their voice against the king have no place in the councils of ministers They are only ornamental figure-heads and do not deserve any effective control over statecraft Śukra recognises only such ministers as ideal who are not merely 'king's friends' or 'kings' men' working like his favourite private secretaries' or confidential clerks, but men who have individuality and independence of character by which they can control the whims and caprices of the king and systematically govern the courses of the state's action Thus, the executives of the king must be able to display their ability by their existence by adding to the states' resources, territory, influence or prestige

The qualifications and the functions of the executive given by Śukra show his deep insight and indicate the highly organised political fabric of his concept The picture presented by Śukra, as is beautifully remarked by B.K Sarkar,[23] is not one of a simple 'primitive' political life in which the 'man in the street' is fit to be a judge, a warrior and a ruler by turn, but one of the complex organisations which requires specialised functionaries for the efficient discharge of its functions and, hence, demands of each a specialised training as Judge, Commander and Financier

Śukra, after having given the qualifications and functions of each office, advises the king how to deal with his servants He recommends the principle of rotation, and says that the king should appoint them to each post by rotation [24] He should not make his officers more powerful than himself and the ten *Prakrtis* (Executive Officers) should be entrusted with equal power He advises the king to employ the theory of checks and balances over his servants when he says that the king should always appoint three men for each department—the wisest of them all at the head and the two others as overseers, for three, five, seven or ten years, and after having observed each officer's qualifications for the work entrusted, he should make the necessary changes [25]

The king should not offer responsibilities indiscriminately When some one is found to be unworthy of the work entrusted to him, he is to be replaced by a competent person from the apprentices who are qualified for that task [26] As an officer becomes qualified for the higher and higher functions, he should be promoted in an ascending order. And, finally, should be appointed a *Prakriti*, such as, one of the ten advisers [27]

The officer or servant is not to do anything without the king's written order Nor should the king command anything, great or small without written order as the written document is the best guide, for to err is human Both the king who commands without writing and the officer who does any thing without written orders are thieves The written document with the king's seal is the real king, the king as a person is not [28]

The king should fix wages of his servants after weighing their comparative merits and qualifications scrupulously Wages are to be determined on the criterion that the worker is able to maintain persons dependent on him Moderate remuneration is said to be that which supplies the indispensable food and clothing Good wages are those by which food and clothing are adequately afforded Low wages are those by which only one person can be maintained The king should neither stop nor postpone the payment of salary Those servants who get low wages are enemies by nature Even a slight portion should not be deducted from the full remuneration of a servant who has been ill for half a fortnight [29] And a substitute should be taken for one who has worked even for one year. And if the diseased be highly qualified, he should have half the wages The king should give the servant fifteen days a year respite from work [30]

The king should grant half the wages without work to the man who has passed forty years in his service [31] He should give the servant one-eighth of the salary by way of reward every year, and if the work has been done with exceptional ability one-eighth of the services rendered, he should give the same salary to the son of the man who

died for his work, so long as he is a minor, otherwise he should pay the remuneration according to the offspring's qualifications. He should keep with him, as deposit, one-sixth or one-fourth of the servant's wages He should pay half of that amount, or the whole, in two or three years [32]

The master, by harsh words, low wages, severe punishments and insult, brings out in the servant the attributes of the enemy. He should, therefore, keep his servants satisfied Those who are satisfied with wages and honoured by distinctions and pacified by soft words never desert their master.[33] The king should mark his employees by the proper insignia of office placed on steel, copper, bronze, silver, gold plates and jewels. For distinguishing from distance, he should identify the officers by clothing, crowns, and musical instruments The king should not give to anybody the uniform that is peculiarly his own

Thus, laying emphasis on the rapport and harmonious relations between the king and his servants, Śukra concludes that where the servants and the king both are in good order, there wealth is permanent, extensive and available [34]

Defence The king derives his strength from the army Without the army there is no kingdom, or wealth or prowess [35] All round prosperity is ensured by the observance of *Nīti* and use of *Danda* The king, therefore, must possess strength and prowess without which he cannot protect his people and establish law and morality which are his primary responsibilities

Śukra enumerates six kinds of strengths of the body, of the valour and prowess, of the army, of arms, of intelligence and of strength of life The king possessing these powers matches Lord *Visnu* [36] Of these, the army is the most superior, for without it the king cannot overpower even a weak enemy. The gods, monsters and human beings, all have to depend on the strength of the army As the army is the only instrument of defeating the enemy, the king should scruplously maintain a formidable army [37]

Śukra divides king's army into two parts · (i) one's own army and (ii) the army belonging to the allies. Each, again, is of two types;

(i) long-standing and (ii) newly recruited Further, he subdivides it as (i) useful or (ii) useless [38] In the division of the army into *Moula* (long-standing) and *Sādyaska* (newly recruited), Śukra gives two kinds of military recruitment The *Moula* army is trained, regimented or officered and manned by the military department of the state and supplied with weapons and conveyances at state expense The *Sādyaska* army, on the other hand, is the national army of volunteers, unregimented, such as, militia must necessarily consist of raw recruits who are untrained, unregimented and responsible for their own arms and conveyances It would, thus, appear that the *Moula* army, is the state army, as it were It is associated with the kingdom from inception and corresponds to the permanent standing army The *Sādyaska*, or new army improvised for certain occasions to augment the national militia has a temporary character as it is enlisted by the methods of conscription or voluntary service

Śukra further categorises the army on the basis of maintenance, efficiency, adaptation and training He adds another division of the army which he terms as *Śatrubala*—troops left by or captured from the enemy and absorbed as one's own troops He suspects this type of army as inimical and not trustworthy, weak and unhelpful [39] Śukra advises the king to strengthen his army physically by means of tussles, exercises, parades and adequate food The king should ensure the strength, valour and prowess of his army by providing hunting excursions against tigers and exercises among heroes and valorous people with arms and weapons [40]

Strength : As to the size of the armed forces, Śukra suggests that the king should have his infantry four times the cavalry, bulls one-fifth of his horses, camels one-eighth, elephants one-fourth of the camels, chariots, half of the elephants and cannons twice the chariots He should have in the army a predominance of foot-soldiers, a medium quantity of horses, a small number of elephants, equal number of bulls and camels, but never an excess of elephants [41]

Establishment Sukra describes the annual military establishment of the ruler worth Rs 1,00,000, which can be taken as the unit of political

life as under (1) 100 Reserve force (2) 300 Infantry with guns (3) 80 Horses (4) 1 Chariot (5) 2 Cannons, (6) 10 Camels, (7) 2 Elephants (8) 2 Bullocks Carts, (9) 16 Bulls, (10) 6 Clerks, (11) 3 Councillors [42]

Employment : The ruler should station one hundred soldiers at every *Yojana* He should never proceed with a small army even against an insignificant enemy No wise king would use the raw recruits despite their numerous strength The untrained, inefficient and raw recruits are all like bales of cotton They should be used for tasks other than warfare The weak soldiers desert the fields out of fear of loss of life The strong ones, capable of causing flight to enemy, should be preferred A king lacking valour cannot face a battle fight even though he has a vast army. The warrior king, however, can overpower the enemy with a small but well-trained army The king should proceed against the enemy with the old, trained and efficient troops The veteran army will not desert him even when facing death [43]

Care . The king must keep his army happy and contented. Of all the dangers known to befall an army, the worst is *Bheda*, alienation The causes of disaffection or alienation of the army should be studied and removed [44] The causes of the alienation of soldiers are harsh words, diminution of wages, threats and constant life and work in foreign lands.[45] The king should pacify his own troops by gifts and rewards If he is generous and rewards well, the army becomes attached to him even though his conduct be unrighteous with low family culture He must protect his army against all odds The ways to please the army is to pay increased emoluments to officers about a quarter in the beginning of the expedition, to make the soldiers drink intoxicating wines to the full and employ in the battle those with high enthusiasm [46]

Whereas the king is advised by Śukra to keep his army well organised and satisfied, he is exhorted to create alienation among the enemy's ranks by gifts and artifices There is no other means of subjugating the foe except by causing disaffection among his soldiers. Deserters from the enemy forces should not be allowed to come

closer to the main army. They have to be employed elsewhere in other vocations and should be used first in wars.[47]

Expedition : The procedure for dismantling of the battle-field has been provided by Śukra The commander should march in well-arranged regiments The allied troops may be placed in the front, at the back or at the wings If there be danger ahead, the commander should march in the great crocodile, or bird a or needle array. None other than one's own troops should know the signs for the formation of battle orders communicated by means of bugle sounds The king should order the soldiers aloud by signs of battle-order from a station on the right or left, the centre or the front [48]

The king should commence military operations all of a sudden and withdraw also instantly and attack like robbers from a distance [2] He should station the troops near the village, but outside it. Any relation of debtor and creditor between the village folk and the soldiery should not be permitted The goods meant for the army should be reserved for soldiers The troops must never be stationed at one place for a whole year. The king should manage the army in such a way that about a thousand soldiers can be summoned for service at a short notice [49]

Conduct The military regulations should be communicated to the soldiers every eighth day The troop should always forsake violence, rivalry, procrastination over state duties, indifference to the injury of the king, conversation as well as friendship with the enemies They should never enter a village without a royal permit. They should never point out the defects of their commanders, but should always live on friendly terms with the whole staff They should keep the arms, weapons and uniforms bright and ready for use [50]

Inspection : The king should always attend military parades with the troops and strike the objective by means of missiles at the stated hours Seated on the platform, he should observe the activities of the troops The king should take account of the troops both in the

morning and evening, He should study their caste, stature, age, country, village and residence He should record the period served, rate of wages and the amount paid to servants by way of wages and rewards. He should receive the acknowledgment of their receipts and give them the forms specifying wages, etc. Full pay may be granted to soldiers who are trained, half pay to those who are in training As soon as the king comes to know of disaffection in the army, he should at once remove it, and extripate the troops that have illicit connections with evil-doers and enemies [51]

Thus, the organisation of service for assisting the king in carrying on the administration is indispensible Accordingly, Śukra has discussed, in his treatise, the role of civil and defence services He advises the king to offer such conditions of service to his servants civil and military which would ensure enthusiastic service and active discharge of duty by the personnel concerned He is very particular that the bureaucratic work under strict control and discipline He specifically lays down the characteristics of good and bad administration and advises him to be vigilant in choosing good officers Śukra has made a significant contribution to the formulation of detailed description of civil and defence services He has spelled out the minutest details of the role of army and how it can be maintained and used against the enemy.

8

INTER-STATE RELATIONS

Among the eight functions of the king, punishment of the wicked, charity, protection of the subjects, performance of *Rājasūya* and other sacrifices, equitable realisation of revenues, extraction of wealth from land, the quelling of enemies and conversion of princes into tributary chiefs[1] can be regarded, in the modern sense of the term, as the foreign policy of the king Whereas in the field of domestic policy, Śukra attaches importance to the protection of the people in the sphere of foreign affairs, he adds weight to compel princes to pay their tributes to him The king who fails to discharge these two important functions is a fool and is useless like a barren sesame seed[2] One of the conspicuous functions of the king, according to Śukra, is to conquer kingdoms and expand an empire so that their chiefs are made to pay homage to him.

Determinants of Foreign Policy : In ancient India, foreign policy was formulated from the point of view of the '*Vijigisu*', a king desirous of victory It was devised solely to enable the king to pursue his policy of conquest The doctrine of *Mandala*, one of the most remarkable idea of Indian statecraft, represents the theory of inter-state relations It holds that a kingdom is an ally or enemy according to its geographical position with respect to the intending conqueror. The *Vijigīsu* king is at the centre of a series of circles or rectangles of states whose relations with the *Vijigīsu* are predeterminated by their positions. Śukra discusses the *Mandala theory* in the first section of Chapter IV where he says that the nearest neighbours are the greatest enemies. Those gradually receeding from one's territory are less and less powerful enemies[3] If the *Vijigīsu* king is in the centre, then the order of the situation of other kings is as follows, first enemies, then the friends, then the neutrals and finally enemies on all sides[4]

Methods of Foreign Policy: For the implementation of foreign policy and the maintenance of inter-state relations, the ancient thinkers advised the king to employ judiciously four *Upāyas* (expedients), namely, *sāma* (conciliation), *dāna* (gifts), *bheda* (dissension) and *danda* (war). They also prescribe *Śadgunas* (six measures) which are *sandhi* (alliance), *vigraha* (war), *yāna* (marching), *āsana* (inactivity), *dvaidhī bhāva* (dividing the army), and *āśraya* (seeking protection) The king should apply all these methods, one by one, to conquer an enemy or he may use them all at a time against the same enemy

From the practical point of view, the policy of pacification (*sāma*) is the best, as it does not cause loss in men and money But in case of failure, after the application of all the three remedies, he is advised to use *Danda* or attack the enemy in order to conquer him [5] *Brhaspati*, who is represented as advising gods harassed by the *Daityas*, observes, 'The four-fold policy leads to success '[6] But the *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Bheda* and *Danda* should be employed gradually one after the other, according to the urgencies and exigencies of *Deśa* (place) and *Kāla* (time) But, *Brhaspati* says, 'No peace and conciliation was possible with the wicked *daityas* who could only be suppressed or conquered by means of *Danda* '[7]

The policy of creating dissension *Bheda* is very effective to weaken the strength of the foe In the *Mahābhārata*, *Krsna* after failing in his mission to establish peace with the *Kauravas* by the application of *Sāma*, applied the policy of *Bheda* in order to create dissension in their camp [8] The importance of the policy of the dissension was emphasised by the Chinese political thinker and strategist *Sun-Tzu*,[9] who in his book on the art of war, has propounded the theory that supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting. Śukra also speaks highly of the policy of dissension.

When the four measures (*Upāyas*) failed, the king had to follow sixfold (*Śadguna*) policy towards his enemies The *Mahābhārata*[10] asserts that the king's prosperity depends on the proper implementation of the sixfold policy The *Skanda Purāna* upholds that the six expedients are advocated for the destruction of an enemy—'*Sadupāyeripur Vadhyah*' [11]

Śukra, in line with his predecessors, deals with these elements of foreign policy in the IVth chapter and advises the king to use them appropriately At the very outset, Śukra points out that a work can be successful only through efforts and not through wish The elephant does not of itself enter the mouth of the sleeping lion [12] When ordinary people get their desired objects through good methods, good policies and persevering efforts, cannot the king? Even the hard iron can by proper methods be converted into a liquid [13] It is also a noted fact that water extinguishes fire By the man who exerts, even fire can be extinguished It is a policy by which feet can be placed on the head of elephants [14] Śukra then enumerates and defines sixfold policy and advises the employment of these methods which can lead the king to victory

The six attributes of statecraft are known to be peace, war, expedition, taking cover or besieging, refuge and duplicity [15]

1 *Sandhi*-(Peace)—Those actions by which the powerful foe becomes friendly constitutes *Sandhi* or Treaty

2 *Vigraha* (War)—That is said to be *Vigraha* or war by which the enemy is oppressed or subjugated The king should study this measure with his councillors

3 *Yāna* (Expedition)—*Yāna* is making preparation for war This is intended for the furtherance of one's own objects and the destruction of enemy's interests

4 *Āsana* (Besieging)—It means something like 'lying in ambush', or 'taking cover' or 'besieging' By the method of *Āsana*, Śukra believes that the king can be protected and the enemy destroyed.

5 *Āśraya* (Refuge)—It is said to be that by which even the weak becomes powerful

6 *Dvaīdhibhāva* (Duplicity)—It is the stationing of one's troops in several regiments [16] The object of this division of army into groups may be to show the enemy that the army is numerically not very powerful

Sukra, thereafter, indicates how and when these six attributes are to be employed by the king to fulfil his objective of winning over his enemy.

Sandhi (Truce) : When the king has been attacked by a powerful enemy and is unable to counteract him by any means, he should adopt the attribute of peace in a dilatory manner [17] He should offer gifts to the aggressor for he, because of his might, will not be appeased without gifts and there is no other form of peace except offering gifts [18] Either gifts should be given accordingly, or the daughter, wealth and property may be given away [19] In order to conquer enemies, peace should be made even with one's own feudatries, with the *anāryas*, otherwise they can overpower the ruler by attack [20]

What is generally ignored as insignificant can turn out to be an important source of strength in diplomacy Śukra, therefore, in advising the king to use the attributes of peace with one's own feudatries and converting them into friends, finds that the feudatries satisfied with concessions, grants and gifts may stand the king in good stead in the times of emergency when he is attacked by a powerful enemy These feudatries serve the purpose of the thorny trees and the king surrounded and protected by them cannot be destroyed as the bamboo clustered by trees [21]

Thus, the king should adopt the policy of peace even with low and small kings who are his neighbours. But the truce is to be honoured as far as it serves the purpose of the ruler. Śukra quotes instances from the *Pauranika* history where even the greatest personalities violated solemn pledges in order to serve their interests,[22] *Indra* killed *Vṛtra* in the days of yore during the truce time

Vigraha (War) : The War (*Vigraha*) should not be undertaken with powerful enemy as the cloud never moves against the current of wind [23] It is not safe to measure strength with a giant. Śukra gives illustration to strengthen his point that just as rivers never leave the downward

course, similarly prosperity does not desert a man who bows down to the powerful at the proper time But the king, with a small army enag-ing in a war with a valorous man backed by a powerful army, destroys himself [24] One should commence warfare when one is attacked and oppressed by somebody, or even when one desires prosperity, provided one is well placed as regards time, region and army.[25] War is to be undertaken only when there is no other remedy

Yāna (Expedition) · Śukra categorizes *Yāna* (Expedition) into five kinds—*Vigrihya*, *Sandhāya* *Sambūya*, *Prasanga* and *Upeksha* [26]

(i) *Vigrīhya Yāna* is that in which the army proceeds by gradually overpowering groups of enemies [27]

(ii) *Sandhāya Yāna* is that which proceeds after peace is made with certain supporters of the enemy [28]

(iii) *Sambhūya Yāna* is that which proceeds under the king aided by feudatories skilled in warfare well-equipped with physical and moral resources [29]

(iv) *Prasanga Yāna* is that which begins against a certain objective but incidentally proceeds against another [30]

(v) *Upeksya Yāna* is that which neglects the enemy and retreats after encountering adverse fate [31]

Āsana (Beseiging) · One should lie with troops at those places whence the enemy's army can be overpowered by arms and weapons.[32] Illustrating the advantages of the attribute of *Āsana*, Śukra says that from the manoeuvere of *āsana* one should destroy carefully people who help the enemy by carrying wood, food, water and provisions One should subjugate the enemy through protracted processes by which provisions are cut short, food and fuel are diminished, and the subjects are oppressed.[33]

Āśraya (Refuge) : When the king has been overpowered by the enemy and does not find any remedy to counteract the defeat, he should seek refuge with a powerful ruler who is truthful, honest and has good family connections.[34]

Dvaidhībhāva (Duplicity) : When the ruler is not sure of the methods of work to be adopted, and is waiting for the opportune time, he should resort to duplicity like the crow's eye and display one move but really adopt another [35]

Śukra advises that out of these six attributes, the peace (*Sandhi*) should be made with the very powerful, war (*Vigraha*) with the equal, expedition (*Yāna*) against the weak and refuge (*Āśraya*) with the allies [36]

Like six attributes, Śukra discusses four measures (*Upāyas*) also and advises the king to apply them separately to the friends, relatives, family, subjects and enemies according to one's own reasons [37] He says that one should bring friends and foes to submission by appropriate methods just as snakes, elephants and lions are tamed [38] Illustrating the advantages of the four policies, Śukra says that just as by appropriate means the terrestrial being can soar into the sky and even the thunder can be pierced, likewise, the king can subdue his enemies and bring them under his control by the proper use of policies. Śukra advises how and where they are to be used by the king.

1. *Sāma* with a friend—'No one is such a friend as yourself' This remark to a friend is called *Sāma*.

2. *Dāna* with a friend—'All my goods are yours, even life'. This is *Dāna* or gift to a friend.

3. *Bheda* with a friend—The narration of one's own merits or those of other friends to somebody is *Bheda* or partition applied to a friend.

4 *Danda* with a friend—'If you do such and such things, I should not be friend to you'. This is the punishment as applied to a friend

1 *Sāma* with enemies—'We should not mutually injure each other, but should rather help each other in need' This relation is said to be alliance with enemies.[39]

2 *Dāna* with enemies—The policy is said to be *Dāna* or gifts to enemies according to their strength and status by which one pacifies powerful foes by tributes or his annual incomes from definite tracts of lands.[40]

3. *Bheda* with enemies—The separation of enemies is that which is due to making their friends powerless [41]

4 *Danda* with enemies—Punishment applied to enemies is said to be the attack upon them, the aggression upon them with powerful force after noticing their weak points, and not ceasing from war when war has commenced [42]

Śukra observes that these methods and policies have to be duly varied according to the varieties of ends to be furthered The king should adopt all these policies in such a way that the friends, neutrals or the foes can never go beyond his reach.[43]

Sāma is first to be adopted Then the policy of *Dāna* The enemies have always to be played off against one another, and the policy of punishment is to be adopted in times of danger to existence Alliance and contributions are to be applied to powerful enemies Alliance and separation should be applied to those who are superior in strength Separation and punishment are to be adopted towards those who are equal. Punishment is desirable when the enemy is powerless Alliance and gifts are to be adopted towards friends and never the policy of playing off one against another or punishment. The separation and punishment of the subjects of enemies leads to one's success.[44]

Among the four expedients (*Upāyas*), Śukra like *Bhīsma* of the *Mahābhārata*, and Chinese political thinker *Sun-Tzu*, lays stress on the policy of dissension—(*Bheda*) Since there can be no success if the army is disaffected, one should always study the causes of disaffection or alienation of the army belonging to oneself and also to the enemy, and thereafter the king should always by gift and artifices promote alienation or disaffection among the enemy's troops [45] Śukra strongly says that there is no other means of subjugating the foe except by causing disaffection among soldiers [46]

Śukra's choicest advise to the conquering king is that he should be strong in his use of the policy of dissension or separation by which the enemy is weakened or dismembered and recommends that the separation (*Bheda Nīti*) is the best of all the measures (*Upāyas*) as the refuge (*Samāśraya*) is the best of six attributes of statecraft The king who wants success should adopt both of them and without these two (separation and refuge) the king should never commence military operations [47] The king should adopt such means as lead to rivalry or conflict between the commander-in-chief and the councillors of the enemy and strife among their subjects or women [48] Thus, Śukra, like Louis XIV's policy towards Stuart kings of England, advises that the aspiring king, by promoting rivalry between civil and military heads, should foment dissension among the enemy.

Śukra advises the king that he should satisfy the very powerful enemy by service and humiliation (*Sāma*), serve the strong one by honours and presents (*Dāna*) and the weak ones by wars (*Danda*) and win over the equals by alliance or friendship (*Sāma*) and subjugate all by the policy of separation (*Bheda*)[49].

The Law of Nations, as it now operates, is also adequately treated by Śukra. Śukra under the fourfold *Upāyas* and sixfold *Gunas* also adequately covers in their range friends, foes, neutrals, expeditions, treaties, truces, battles and capitulations. The *Upāyas* and the *Gunas* are the determinants of the inter-state relations which have been discussed by most of the writers of ancient texts. Śukra, though he is

an advocate of morality, does not desist from recommending that one should carry the enemy on one's shoulders so long as one is more powerful than oneself, but after knowing that his strength has been impaired, should break him down as a vessel against a stone [50]

It can, thus, be stated that Sukra's foreign policy has certain modern and universal attributes, though in some of its features there is an intimate relationship with the time and place and local considerations Of great significance is his prescription as to how and when morality or expediency can interact with inter-state relations and in what measure

EPILOGUE

From the study of the *Śukra Niti* an image that evolves of the king is that he owes his authority to both his virtue as well as his merits. The qualities that make a king are prowess, strength, intelligence and valour A king bereft of these qualities, cannot enjoy power even over a small region and such a person deserves to be thrown out of his kingdom The king possessing virtues like righteousness, valour, intelligence and philanthropy enjoys the earth full of its wealth and becomes the lord of this world According to Śukra, it is not birth that makes a king, but his qualities and he owes his respect not so much to his ancestry as to his personality. Śukra's king reinforces customs, usages and movements and, thus, is the originator of good in this world He, by virtue of purity of functions, is equivalent to multiple deities and by virtue of enforcement of the vital law of social order is the maker of his age

Of the seven limbs of the state, the king is the head He is the root of the tree of the kingdom whose trunk are ministers, branches the military commanders, leaves the troops, flowers the people, fruit the territory and seed is the soil[1] As the branches, leaves, and flowers dry up when the roots grow weak, similarly all else perishes, sooner or later, when the king becomes weak Śukra, like *Manu* and other law-makers, emphasises righteousness, discipline and mercy as the brightest of all virtues Without the attribute of mercy, the king, according to Sukra, cannot get along despite his other qualities.[2] Of the policy of the king, discipline is the root which, in turn, has its root in self-control The king should first get himself disciplined which would ensure discipline successively of his sons, officials, servants and subjects.

Śukra puts forward a vigorous plea for the king's application of righteousness in self-interest and in the interest of his subjects When the king is devoted to righteousness, he secures for himself as well as for his subjects the prescribed three-fold ends of life, but if he acts otherwise he destroys them all [3] The king who is righteous is divine, while he who is the reverse is demonic [4]

The highest obligation of the king to the society to which he belongs, according to Śukra, is the protection of the people and the punishment of the wicked [5] More solemnly, god kills and casts down a king who fails in his duty of protection of his people The king was created by *Brahmā* for the service of the people, drawing his own share as his means of subsistence, but having the status of sovereign for the purpose of their constant protection [6] Apart from delivering justice, spreading culture, education and other benevolent works of public utility, the topmost duty of the king is to fight bravely in the battle-field against the enemy The earth swallows the king who does not fight [7] One who protects subjects should, in the pursuance of the *Ksatriya's* duties, never desist from a fight if called to it by an equal superior or inferior The death of a *Ksatriya* in the bed is a sin and the man who runs away from the battle, says Śukra, is surely killed by the gods [8]

Śukra enjoins his king to study the *Nītiśāstra* as it is considered to be the spring of virtue, wealth, enjoyment and salvation The knowledge and application of *Nīti* is as indispensable for a king as valour and prowess All-round prosperity flourishes where both *Nīti* and power go together

As an upholder of the social order, the king of Śukra, resembling the king depicted in the *Arthaśāstra-Smrti* literature, is expected to inflict punishment on the violation of rules and the commitment of offences of private and public character, such as, falsification of weights, counterfeiting of coins, adulteration of food, acceptance of bribes, insulting parents, damaging tanks and gardens, adultery, giving

false evidence, forgery, theft and violence as well as treason against the king [9]

The king, fulfilling his obligations and responsibilities towards society and observing righteousness self-restraint and purity in private life is held in high esteem by Śukra and he is full of praise for him The subjects get into trouble without such a king as a boat sinks into sea without helmsman A king, though gifted with good qualities, may sometimes be ineffective over the people, but the people, though they might be tainted with all bad qualities, cannot do without a king Like the queen of *Indra,* the people must never be without a lord [10]

The *Rāstra* belongs to one whose law prevails and the sovereign has the status of god when he flourishes and is prosperous The king in whose kingdom people follow their own duties enjoys fully the fruits of his sovereignty and enjoys fame for ever [11] Consequent upon the greatness of the king and his service and duties towards society, Śukra is also conscious of prescribing the duty of people towards their ruler Everyone approaching the king should salute him like a second *Visnu.* No one should imitate the king in dress and speech [12] It is the people's obligation to honour their ruler in all possible ways, as it is the obligation of the ruler to protect and nourish his people in a parental way

This is the brighter side of the coin presented by Śukra on the tradition of *Śruti-Smrti* and *Dharm-Śāstras* which he followed and ascribed in his treatise But Śukra presents the darker side of the picture also. He condemns the king who has no compassion, is passionate, envious and untruthful and who has vanity, cupidity and is addicted to sensuous pleasures, practises deceit and villany and is not uniform in thought, speech, action and who freely violates the *Niti* [13] Such a king, Śukra warns, is reborn as a lower animal or an immovable thing Śukra advises people that they should desert the king who forgets whatever good done for him by them and is not satisfied with their good service When the king is a sinner, the people become vicious and consequently natural calamities occur.

Clouds do not pour rain in season, lands are not productive, enemies grow in number and wealth is destroyed[14] Contrary to a wicked one, a good king notices his own faults before those of his subjects and purges himself of his own vices first and then cleanses his subjects[15]

Śukra, therefore, strongly recommends that when the king departs from the path of virtue and is addicted to immoral ways, the people should terrify him by taking the help of the virtuous[16] He remains the king as long as he is virtuous otherwise both the king and the people are ruined[17] Śukra is very conscious about arousing public opinion against a wicked king and vehemently exhorts that the councillors must protest against the immoral conduct of the king, failing which they also share hell with the king[18] A king, who is unrestrained in his speech and deed and is always crooked to friends, must forthwith be dragged down from his position.

To deal with kings is a very difficult task Śukra, therefore, states that service to the king is very delicate and intricate matter It cannot be satisfactorily performed except by the intelligent It is like the *asidhāra* ceremony, like playing with snakes As the snake-charmer masters the snake by *Mantra,* likewise only the intelligent can control the king[19]

Summing up · From the above discussion on kingship, one can infer that the central and the key role that Śukra ascribes to the king in state-affairs is his emphasis on morality and virtues as the cardinal feature of the ruler's life and his insistence on people's will as the best guarantee for the maintenance, progress and prosperity of the state This seems relevant in the present context when virtues need to be restored in the political order and public opinion to come to have a free play in political life There are threats today to the concept and practice of morality from several quarters and dangers to India's unity and way of life Consequently, we witness paradox of injustices, abuse of power despite constitutional checks, immoral wrongs covered up by legal quibblings and so on The prescriptions of the *Śukra Nīti*, therefore, assume unique significance for the restoration of fast declining moral health of our nation and *Śukra's* guidelines can be of immense use for recasting of India's political system

Foot Notes

Chapter I

1. (क) आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्या । —A.S I. 2

   (ख) ननु चतस्रो राजविद्या , त्रयी वार्ता ऽऽ-न्वीक्षिकी दण्डनीतिरिति ।
   —Da*nd*ian, D K C., VIII, p 191

2 व्याख्यातास्सर्ववर्णाना साधारणवैशेषिका धर्मा
राज्ञस्तु विशेषाद् वक्ष्याम । —A.D S. II X. I

3 दण्ड. शास्ति प्रजा सर्वा दण्ड एवाभिरक्षति ।
दण्ड सुप्तेषु जागर्ति दण्ड धर्म विदुर्बुधा ॥ —M S. VII. 18

4 दण्डनीति स्वधर्मेभ्यश्चातुर्वर्ण्यं नियच्छति ।
प्रयुक्ता स्वामिना सम्यगधर्मेभ्यो नियच्छति —Mb. A.P 69 76

5. दमो दण्ड इति ख्यातस्तात्स्थ्याद्दण्डो महीपति ।
तस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीति र्नयनान्नीतिरुच्यते ॥ —K N S.'II. 15

6 राजदण्डभयाल्लोक स्वस्वधर्मपरो भवेत् । ——S N.I. 23

7 लोकस्य सीमन्तकरी मर्यादा लोकभाविनी ।
सम्यङ् नीता दण्डनीति र्यथा माता यथा पिता ॥
यस्या भवन्ति भूतानि तद् विद्धि भरतर्षभ ॥ —Mb. A P. 69 103—104

8. विद्याभूमिहिरण्यपशुधान्यभाण्डोपस्करमित्रादीनामर्जनमर्जितस्य विवर्धनमर्थ ।
—K S 1.2 9

9. मनुष्याणा वृत्तिः=अर्थः=मनुष्यवती भूमिरित्यर्थ.; तस्या पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रम्—अर्थशास्त्रमिति । —A S XV. I

10. *Ś*ukra N*ī*t*ı*, I 157

11 यैरुपायैर्लोकस्तु न चलेदार्यवर्त्मना ।
तत्सर्वं राजशार्दूल नीतिशास्त्रेऽभिवर्णितम् ॥ —Mb. A P. 59. 74

12. यदि न स्यान्नरपतिः सम्यङ्नेता तत. प्रजाः ।
अकर्णधारा जलधौ विप्लवेतेह नौरिव ॥ —S N. I. 45

13. A state exists for the sake of good life and not for the sake of life. .. ...Political society exists for the sake of mere noble actions and not of mere companionship
Aristotle, *Polity*, Book III, Chapter 9

14. दण्डेन नीयते चेद दण्ड नयति वा पुन ।
दण्डनीतिरिति ख्याता त्रीँल्लोकानभिवर्तते ॥—Mb A P. 59. 78

15 भवतीष्ट सत्क्रिययाऽनिष्ट तद्विपरीतया ।
शास्त्रत सदसज्ज्ञात्वा त्यक्त्वाऽसत्सत्समाचरेत् ॥ —S N I. 59

16 न्यायप्रवृत्तो नृपतिरात्मानमथ च प्रजा. ।
त्रिवर्गेणोपसधत्ते निहन्ति ध्रुवमन्यथा ॥ —S N I 67

17 The Code of *Artha* (Commonwealth) is a code dealing with the means (art *Upāyas*) of acquisition and growth of territory
—Jayaswal, K P , *Hindi Polity*, p 5

18 सर्वोपजीवक लोकस्थितिकृन्नीतिशास्त्रकम् । —S N I 5

19 क्रियैकदेशबोधीनि शास्त्राण्यन्यानि सन्ति हि । —S.N I. 4

20. सर्वलोकव्यवहारस्थिति नीत्या विना नहि ।
यथाऽशनैर्विना देहस्थिति र्न स्याद्धि देहिनाम् ॥ —S N I 11

21. सर्वाभीष्टकर नीतिशास्त्र स्यात्सर्वसमतम् ।
अत्यावश्य नृपस्यापि स सर्वेषा प्रभुर्यतः ॥ —S.N I. 12

22 अत सदा नीतिशास्त्रमभ्यसेद्यत्ततो नृप ।
यद् विज्ञानान्नृपाद्याश्च शत्रुजिल्लोकरञ्जका ॥
सुनीतिकुशला नित्य प्रभवन्ति च भूमिपाः ॥ —S.N I. 16-17

23. Sarkar, B K , The *Śukra Nīti* (English Translation) foot note No 2 p 2

24. अप्रेरितहितकर सर्वराष्ट्र भवेद्यथा ।
तथा नीतिस्तु सधार्या नृपेणात्महिताय वै ॥ —S N I 18

25. यत्र नीतिबले चोभे तत्र श्रीस्सर्वतोमुखी । —S N I. 17

26. नृपस्य परमो धर्म प्रजाना परिपालनम् ।
दुष्टनिग्रहण नित्य न नीत्याऽतो विना ह्युभे ॥ —S.N I 14

27 अनीतिरेव सच्छिद्र राज्ञो नित्य भयावहम् ।
शत्रुसवर्धन प्रोक्त बलह्रासकर महत् ॥ —S N I 15

28 भिन्न राष्ट्र बल भिन्न भिन्नोऽमात्यादिको गण. ।
अकौशल्य नृपस्यैतदनीतेस्तस्य सर्वदा ॥ —S.N I 19

29. मज्जेत् त्रयी दण्डनीतौ हताया, सर्वे धर्मा प्रक्षयेयुर्विबुद्धा. ।
सर्वे धर्माश्चाश्रमाणा हता स्यु, क्षात्रे त्यक्ते राजधर्मे पुराणे ॥
सर्वा विद्या राजधर्मेषु युक्ता, सर्वेलोका राजधर्मे प्रविष्टा ॥ Mb. A P 63.28—29

30. ततोऽध्यायसहस्राणा शत चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् । —Mb. A P. 59,29

31. प्रजानामायुषो ह्रास विज्ञाय भगवाञ्छिव ।
सचिक्षेप ततः शास्त्र महार्थ ब्रह्मणा कृतम् ॥
वैशालाक्षमिति प्रोक्तं तदिन्द्र प्रत्यपदद्यत ।
दशाध्यायसहस्राणि सुब्रह्मण्यो महातप ॥
भगवानपि तच्छास्त्र सचिक्षेप पुरन्दरः ।
सहस्रैः पञ्चभिस्तात यदुक्त बाहुदन्तकम् ॥ —Mb. A.P 59 81-23

32. अध्यायाना सहस्रैस्तु त्रिभिरेव बृहस्पति ।
सचिक्षेपेश्वरो बुद्ध्या बार्हस्पत्य तदुच्यते ॥
अध्यायानां सहस्रेण काव्य सक्षेपमब्रवीत् ।
तच्छास्त्रममितप्रज्ञो योगाचार्यो महायशा ॥ —Mb. A P 59 84-85

33 कात्यायन, राजनीतिप्रकाशिका । —I. 21-22

34 शतलक्षश्लोकमितं नीतिशास्त्रमथोक्तवान् ।
स्वयंभूर्भगवाल्लोकहितार्थं सग्रहेण वै ॥
तत्सारतु वसिष्ठाद्यैरस्माभिर्वृद्धिहेतवे ॥ —S.N. I. 2-3

35 Jayaswal, K P , *Hıudu Polıty*, pp 5-6 also foot note 14, p.6

36 Altekar, A S., *State and Government ın Ancıent Indıa*, p. 20

37 Ghosal, U N , *A Hıstory of Indıan Polıtıcal Ideas*, p 495

38 Ibıd, p 485

39 Gopal, Lallanjı, *The Śukra Nītı a Nınteenth Century Text*.

40 *The Śukra Nītı* edıted by Gustav Oppert, preface, p. VIII

41 Pradhan, R G , *Kıngshıp ın the Śukra Nītı*, Modern Revıew, Feb , 1916, pp 152-54

42 Mukharjee, S N , *Modern Revıew*, February 1916, p 31

43 Mazumdar, A K , *Concıse Hıstory of Ancient Indıa*, p 22

44. यद्राजशास्त्र भृगुरगिरा वा न चक्रतुर्वं शकरावृषी तौ ।
तयोः सुतौ तौ च ससर्जतुस्तत्कालेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च ।
—Aśvaghosa, Buddha Carıta, I. 46

45. येऽपि मन्त्रकर्कशाः शास्त्रतन्त्रकारा· शुक्राङ्गिरसविशालाक्षबाहुदन्तिपुत्रपराशरप्रभृतयः
—*Dandın*—Daśakumāracarıta, p 193

46 सम्पूज्य भार्गव पृष्टो वन्दितः पूजित स्तुतः ।
पूर्वदेवैर्यथान्याय नीतिसारमुवाच तान् ।। —S N I. 1-3

47. भगवानुशना चाह श्लोकमत्र विशापते ।
तदिहैकमना राजन् गदतस्त निबोध मे ।।
द्वाविमौ ग्रसते भूमि. सर्पो बिलशयानिव ।
राजानं चाविरोद्धार ब्राह्मणञ्चाप्रवासिनम् ।। —Mb.A.P. 57. 1-3

48 राजान चावियोद्धार ब्राह्मण चाप्रवासिनम् ।
भूमिरेतौ निर्गिलति सर्पो बिलशयानिव ।। — S N. IV 7. 302

49 एतत्ते राजधर्मणा नवनीत युधिष्ठिर ।
बृहस्पतिर्हि भगवान् न्याय्य धर्म प्रशसति ।
विशालाक्षश्च भगवान् काव्यश्चैव महातपा. । —Mb. A.P. 58.1-2

Chapter II

1. पूज्यस्त्वेभिर्गुणैर्भूपो न भूप. कुलसभव. ।
न कुले पूज्यते यादृग्बलशौर्यपराक्रमै ॥ —S.N.I 82

2. गुणनीतिबलद्वेषी कुलभूतोऽप्यधार्मिक ।
नृपो यदि भवेत्त तु त्यजेद्राष्ट्रविनाशकम् ॥ —S.N II 274

3. सर्वविद्यासु कुशलो नृपो ह्यपि सुमत्रवित् ।
मत्रिभिस्तु विना मत्र नैकोऽर्थं चिन्तयेत्क्वचित् ॥ —S N II 2

4 सभ्याधिकारिप्रकृतिसभासत्सु मते स्थित ।
सर्वदा स्यान्नृप प्राज्ञ स्वमते न कदाचन ॥ —S N II 3

5. हिताहित न शृणोति राजा मन्त्रिमुखाच्च य ।
स दस्यू राजरूपेण प्रजाना धनहारक ॥ —S N II 257

6. स्वभागभृत्या दास्यत्वे प्रजाना च नृप कृत ।
ब्रह्मणा स्वामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्वदा ॥ —S N I. 188

7 प्रभु स्वातन्त्र्यमापन्नो ह्यनर्थायैव कल्पते ।
भिन्नराष्ट्रो भवेत्सद्यो भिन्नप्रकृतिरेव च ॥ —S N II 4

8. बहूनामैकमत्य हि नृपतेर्बलवत्तरम् ।
बहुसूत्रकृतो रज्जु सिहाद्याकर्षणक्षम. ॥ —S.N. IV 7 419

9. U N., Ghoshal, *A History of Indian Political ideas*, p 497

10. न जात्या ब्राह्मणश्चात्र क्षत्रियो वैश्य एव न ।
न शूद्रो न च वै म्लेच्छो भेदिता गुणकर्मभि ॥ —S.N I 38

11. ब्रह्मणस्तु समुत्पन्नाः सर्वे ते किं नु ब्राह्मणा ।
न वर्णतो न जनकाद् ब्रह्मतेज प्रपद्यते ॥— S N II. 39

12 चतुर्धा भेदिता जाति र्ब्रह्मणा कर्मभि पुरा ।
कर्मणोत्तमनीचत्व कालतस्तु भवेद् गुणै. ॥ —S N. IV. 3. 11, 14

13 विश्वामित्रश्च वशिष्ठो मतङ्गो नारदादय ।
तपोविशेषै सम्प्राप्ता उत्तमत्व न जातित । —S N. IV 4 40

14 भृत्य परीक्षयेन्नित्य विश्वास्य विश्वसेत्तदा ।
नैव जाति र्न च कुल केवल लक्षयेदपि ॥ —S N II. 54-55

15 सेनापति शूर एव योज्य सर्वासु जातिषु । —S N II 433

16 विना स्वधर्मान्न सुख स्वधर्मो हि पर तपः ।
तप स्वधर्मरूप यद्वर्धित येन वै सदा ।
देवास्तु किकरास्तस्य कि पुनर्मनुजा भुवि ॥ —S.N I 24-25

17 अभिषिक्तोऽनभिषिक्तो वा नृपत्व तु यदाप्नुयात् ।
नृप स्वधर्मनिरतो भूत्वा तेजः क्षयोऽन्यथा ॥ —S.N I 25-26

18 देशकुलजातीना च ये धर्मा प्राक् प्रवर्तिता ।
तथैव ते पालनीया प्रजा प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथा ॥ —S N.IV. 5. 46-50
आचार्यः सर्वचेष्टासु लोक एव हि धीमतः ।
अनुकुर्यात् तमेवातो लौकिकार्थे परीक्षक ।
राजदेशकुलज्ञातिसद्धर्मान् नैव दूषयेत् ।
शक्तोऽपि लौकिकाचार मनसापि न लघयेत् ॥ —S N III. 33-34

19 येषा परम्पराप्राप्ता पूर्वजैरप्यनुष्ठिताः ।
त एव तैर्न दुष्येयुराचारान्नेतरस्य तु ॥ —S N 5 50

20 इति मच्छासन श्रुत्वा येऽन्यथा वर्तयन्ति तान् ।
विनिशिष्यामि दण्डेन महता पापकारकान् ।
इति प्रबोधयेन्नित्य प्रजा शासनडिडिमै ।
लिखित्वा शासन राजा धारयेत् चतुष्पथे ॥ S.N II 311-12

21. न कार्य भृतक कुर्यान्नृपलेखाद्विना क्वचित् ।
नाज्ञापयेल्लेखनेनाविनाऽल्प वा महन्नृप ॥ —S N II 291

22 अलेख्यमाज्ञापयति ह्यलेख्य यत्करोति य ।
राजकृत्यमुभौ चोरौ तौ भृत्यनृपती सदा ॥ —S N II. 292

23. नृपसचिह्नित लेख्य नृपस्तन्न नृपो नृपः । —S N II 293

24. यस्मिन्यस्मिन् हि कृत्ये तु राज्ञा योऽधिकृतो नर ।
सामात्ययुवराजादि र्यथानुक्रमतश्च सः ॥
दैनिक मासिक वृत्त वार्षिक बहुवार्षिकम् ।
तत्कार्यजातलेख्य तु राज्ञे सम्यङ् निवेदयेत् ॥ —S N. II 295-96

25. राजाद्यकितलेखस्य धारयेत् स्मृतिपत्रकम् ।
कालेऽतीते विस्मृतिर्वा भ्रान्ति सजायते नृणाम् ॥ —S.N II 297

26. अवश्यपोष्यभरणा भृतिर्मध्या प्रकीर्तिता । —S N II 399

27. परिपोष्या भृति श्रेष्ठा समान्नाच्छादनार्थिका ।
भवेदेकस्य भरण यया सा हीनसज्ञिका ॥ —S N II. 400

28 ये भृत्या हीनभृतिका शत्रवस्ते स्वयकृता ।
परस्य साधकास्ते तु छिद्रकोशप्रजाहरा ॥ S N II 403

29. पादहीना भृति त्वार्ते दद्यात्त्रैमासिकी तत ।
पञ्चवत्सरभृत्ये तु न्यूनाधिक्य यथा तथा ॥
षाण्मासिकी तु दीर्घार्ते तदूर्ध्वं न च कल्पयेत् ।
नैव पक्षार्धमार्तस्य हातव्याऽल्पापि वै भृति ॥
सुमहद्गुणिन त्वार्त भृत्यर्ध कल्पयेत्सदा ।
सेवा विना नृपः पक्षं दद्याद् भृत्याय वत्सरे ॥
चत्वारिंशत्समा नीता सेवया येन वै नृप ।
तत सेवा विना तस्मै भृत्यर्ध कल्पयेत्सदा ॥
अष्टमाश पारितोष्य दद्याद् भृत्याय वत्सरे । —S N II 407-415

30 वृद्धि हित्वा ह्यर्धधनै र्वाणिज्य कारयेत् सदा । —S N. IV. 5, 315

31. कारणादिसमायोगात्पदार्थस्तु भवेद् भुवि ।
येन व्ययेन ससिद्धस्तद् व्ययस्तस्य मूल्यकम् ॥ —S N II. 358

32. नूतनप्राक्तनाना च व्यवहारविदा धिया ।
प्रतिक्षण चाभिनवो व्यवहारो भवेदत ॥ —S.N III 324

33 वर्तमानाश्च प्राचीना धर्माः के लोकसंश्रिता ।
शास्त्रेषु के समुद्दिष्टा विरुध्यन्ते च केऽधुना ॥
लोकशास्त्रविरुद्धा के पण्डितस्तान् विचिन्त्य च ।
नृप सबोधयेत्तैश्च परत्रेह च सुखप्रदै ॥ —S N. II. 100-101

Chapter III

1. Sankhdher, M. M., *Reflection on Indian Politics*, Kumar Brothers, New Delhi, 1972 p. 125

2. आत्मनश्च प्रजायाश्च दोषदर्श्युत्तमो नृपः ।
विनियच्छति चात्मानमादौ भृत्यास्तत प्रजा ॥ —S.N IV. 1.67

3. (a) आचारप्रेरको राजा ह्येतत्कालस्य कारणम् । —S.N.I. 22

(d) धर्माधर्मप्रवृत्तौ तु नृप एव हि कारणम् ।
स हि श्रेष्ठतमो लोके नृपत्व य समाप्नुयात् ॥ —S.N.IV. 7.425

4. Plato, the *Republic*, p 221

5. (a) सुपुण्यो यत्र नृपति धर्मिष्ठास्तत्र हि प्रजा । —S.N. IV. 1 60

(b) सुदण्डैर्धर्मनिरता प्रजाः कुर्यान्महाभयैः ।
नृप. स्वधर्मनिरतो भूत्वा तेजः क्षयोऽन्यथा ॥ —S.N.I. 25

6. धर्माद्वैजवनो राजा विधाय बुभुजे भुवम् ।
अधर्माच्चैव नहुषो प्रतिपेदे रसातलम् ॥
वेनो नष्टत्वधर्मेण पृथुर्वृद्धः स्वधर्मत ।
तस्माद् धर्मं पुरस्कृत्य यतेतार्थाय पार्थिव ॥—S.N.I. 68-69

7. सभ्याधिकारिप्रकृतिसभासत्सु मते स्थित ।
सर्वदा स्यान्नृप प्राज्ञ स्वमते न कदाचन । —S.N.II. 3

8. (a) अधर्मत· प्रवृत्त त नोपेक्षेरन् सभासद ।
उपेक्षमाणा सनृपा नरक यान्त्यधोमुखा· ॥ —S.N. IV 5,273

(b) गुणनीतिकुलद्वेषी कुलभूतोऽप्यधार्मिक ।
नृपो यदि भवेत्त तु त्यजेद् राष्ट्रविनाशकम् ।। —S.N II. 274

9 (a) ···कूटे वै न सन्ति नियमा अमी ।
न युद्ध कूटसदृश नाशन बलवद्रिपो ।। —S N IV. 7 362

(b) राजा न गच्छेद् विश्वास सन्धितोऽपि बुद्धिमान् ।
अद्रोहसमय कृत्वा वृत्रमिन्द्र पुराऽवधीत् ।। —S N IV. 7 247

10. अवमान पुरस्कृत्य मान कृत्वा तु पृष्ठत ।
स्वकार्यं साधयेत् प्राज्ञ कार्यध्वंसो हि मूर्खता ।। —S.N. IV. 7 366

11. रामकृष्णेन्द्रादिदेवै कूटमेवादृत पुरा ।
कूटेन निहतो बालिर्यवनो नमुचिस्तथा ।। —S N. IV. 7 363

12. वहेदमित्र स्कन्धेन यावत्स्यात् स्वबलाधिक ।
ज्ञात्वा नष्टबल त तु भिन्द्याद् घटमिवाश्मनि ।। —S.N. III. 235

13. Machıavelle, N , the *Prınce,* pp 99-103

14. योहि धर्मपरो राजा देवांशोऽन्यश्च रक्षसाम् ।
अशभूतो धर्मलोपी प्रजापीडाकरो भवेत् ।। —S.N. I. 70

15 Ibıd, p. 201

16. Plato, *The Republıc,* p. 204

17. सैन्याद् विना नैव राज्य न धन न पराक्रमः । —S N IV. 7 4

18. Machiavellı N , *The Prınce,* p 77

19. Supra F N. No 12

20. शुक्रोक्त नीतिसार यश्चिन्तयेदनिश सदा ।
व्यवहारधुर वोढु स शक्तो नृपति र्भवेत् ।। —S.N. IV. 7,427

CHAPTER 4

1. मोहाद् राजा स्वराष्ट्रं य कर्षयत्यनवेक्षया ।
   सोऽचिराद् भ्रश्यते राज्याज्जीविताच्च सबान्धव ॥ —M S VII 111

2. अरक्षितार हर्तार विलोप्तारमनायकम् ।
   त वै राजकलि हन्यु प्रजा सन्नह्य निर्घृणम् ॥ —Mb A P. 61 32.5

3. गुणनीतिकुलद्वेषी कुलभूतोऽप्यधार्मिक ।
   नृपो यदि भवेत्त तु त्यजेद् राष्ट्रविनाशकम् ॥ —S.N II 274-75

4. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. II., p. 509

5. अराजका प्रजा पूर्व विनेशुरिति न श्रुतम् ।
   परस्पर भक्षयन्तो मत्स्या इव जले कृशान् ॥ —Mb , A P , 67.17

6. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol II , p 512

7. Ibid., p. 511

8. Ibid

9. इद प्रकृत्या विषयैर्वशीकृतं परस्पर साधनलोलुप जगत् ।
   सनातने वर्त्मनि साधुसेविते प्रतिष्ठिते दण्डभयोपपीडितम् ॥ —K N S II.

10. दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नर —M.S. VII 22

11. S N. I 61

12. राजमूला महादेवि योगक्षेमा: सुवृष्टय ।
    प्रजाश्च व्याधयश्चैव मरण च भयानि च ॥
    राजा कृत तथा त्रेता द्वापरश्च तथा कलि ।
    राजमूलानि सर्वाणि राजा धर्मस्य कारणम् । —Sk. P. V II 23.2-3.

13. Ibid., VI 209 5

14. देवासुरा वा एषु लोकेषु समयतन्त त एतस्या प्राच्या दिश्यतन्त तांस्ततोऽसुरा अजयंस्ते ··· देवा अब्रुवन्नराजतया वै नो जयन्ति राजान करवामहा इति तथेति ते सोम राजानमकुर्वंस्ते —A.B. 3.3

15 सहितास्तास्तदा जग्मुरसुखार्ता पितामहम् ।
   अनीश्वरा विनश्यामो भगवन्नीश्वर दिश ॥

य सपूजयेम सभूय यश्च न प्रतिपालयेत् ।
ततो मनु व्यादिदेश · ··· ·· —Mb.A.P. 67· 20.21

16 नैव राज्य न राजाऽऽसीन्न च दण्डो न दाण्डिक· ।
धर्मेणैव प्रजा सर्वा रक्षन्ति स्म परस्परम् ॥
पाल्यमानास्तथान्योन्यं नरा धर्मेण भारत ।
खेद परमुपाजग्मुस्ततस्तान् मोह आविशत् ॥ —Mb A P 59. 14 15

17. ततो ऽध्यायसहस्राणा शत चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।
ततस्तान् भगवान्नीतिं पूर्व जग्राह शकर ॥
बहुरूपो विशालाक्ष शिव स्थाणुरुमापति ।
अध्यायाना सहस्रैस्तु त्रिभिरेव बृहस्पति ॥
सचिक्षेपेश्वरो बुद्ध्या बार्हस्पत्य तदुच्यते ।
अध्यायाना सहस्रेण काव्य सक्षेपमब्रवीत् ॥ —Mb A.P 59 29,80,84,85

18. अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् सर्वतो विद्रुते भयात् ।
रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत् प्रभु ॥
इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरूणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वती । —M S VII 3.4

19 अथ खो ते ·····पापका वत भो धम्मा सत्तेसु पातुभूता······अथ खो ते, वासेट्ठ, सत्ता यो नेस सत्तो अभिरुपतरो च पासादिकतरो च महेसक्खतरो च तं सत्त उपसङ्कमित्वा एतदवोचु—'एहि भो सत्त, सम्मा खीयितब्ब खीय' सम्मा गरहितब्ब गरह सम्मा पब्बाजेतब्ब पब्बाजे हि । मय पन वो सालीन भाग अनुप्पदस्सामा' इति· ····धामेन परे रञ्जेती ति खो वासेट्ठ 'राजा राजा' खेव तनियं अक्खरं उपनिबत्तम् —Dīgha Nikāya III. 4.20.21

20 ता पृथी वैन्योऽधोक् ता कृषिं च सस्य चाधोक् ॥ —A.V. VIII. 10.24

21 पृथी ह वै वैन्यो मनुष्याणा प्रथमोऽभिषिषिचे । —S P B. V. 3.5,4

22 मात्स्यन्यायाभिभूता प्रजा मनु वैवस्वत राजान चक्रिरे। धान्यषड्भागं पण्यदशभाग हिरण्य चास्य भागधेय कल्पयामासु. । —A.S. I. 13

23 *State and Gov rnment in Ancient India*, p. 60

24 *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. III, p. 29

25 *Nirukta* II 3

26, रञ्जिताश्च प्रजा: सर्वास्तेन राजेति शब्द्यते । —Mb.A.P. 59. 125

27. पृथुं वैन्य प्रजा दृष्ट्वा रक्ता स्मेति यदब्रुवन् ।
तातो राजेति नामास्य अनुरागादजायत ॥ —Mb A P 29 139

28. (a) राजानं प्रथम विन्देत् ततो भार्यां ततो धनम् ।
राजन्यसति लोकस्य कुतो भार्या कुतो धनम् ॥ —Mb.A P. 5.41

(b) न दारा न च पुत्र स्यान्न धन न परिग्रह ।
विष्वग्लोपः प्रवर्तेत यदि राजा न पालयेत् ॥ —Ibid. 68.15

29. सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते राज्य तत्र मूर्धा नृप स्मृतः । —S N. I. 61

30. इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वती ॥ —M S. VII 3-4

31. कुरुते पञ्चरूपाणि कालयुक्तानि य: सदा ।
भवत्यग्निस्तथाऽऽदित्यो मृत्युर्वैश्रवणो यम ॥
यदा ह्यासीदत पापान् दहत्युग्रेण तेजसा ।
मिथ्योपचरितो राजा तदा भवति पावक. ॥
यदा पश्यति चारेण सर्वंभूतानि भूमिप ।
क्षेम च कृत्वा व्रजति तदा भवति भास्कर ॥
यदा त्वधार्मिकान् सर्वास्तीक्ष्णदण्डै र्नियच्छति ।
धार्मिकाश्चानुगृह्णाति भवत्यथ यमस्तदा ॥
अशुचीश्च यदा क्रुद्ध क्षिणोति शतशो नरान् ।
सपुत्रपौत्रान् सामात्यास्तदा भवति सोऽन्तकः ॥
यदा तु धनदाराभिस्तर्पयत्युपकारिण. ।
तदा वैश्रवणो राजा लोके भवति भूमिप ॥ —Mb.A.P. 68 41-47

32. Altekar, A.S., *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 76

33. इय ते राड्यन्ताऽसि यमनो ध्रुवोऽसि धरुण. ।
कृष्यै त्वा क्षेमाय त्वा रय्यै त्वा पोषाय त्वा ॥ —S Y S , IX. 22

34. राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्ज ॥ वर्णानाश्रमाश्च न्यायतोऽभिरक्षेत् ॥
चलतश्चैतान्स्वधर्मे स्थापयेत् ॥ —G D.S. II 2.1,9,10

35. विद्याविनीतो राजा हि प्रजाना विनये रत ।
अनन्या पृथिवी भुङ्क्ते सर्वभूतहिते रत. ॥ —A.S., 1.5.18.

36. Pillai, P V., *Perspective on Power . India and China*, p. 37

37. स्वे स्वे धर्मे निविष्टाना सर्वेषामनुपूर्वश ।
वर्णानामाश्रमाणाञ्च राजा सृष्टोऽभिरक्षिता ॥ —M.S. VII. 35

38. Pillai, P.V , *Perspective on Power India and China* p 39

39. Mookerji, Radhakumud, *Harsha*, Motilal Banarsi Das Delhi, 1965

40. (a) तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीय । मृदुदण्ड परिभूयते । यथार्हदण्ड. पूज्य । असुविज्ञातप्रणीतो हि दण्ड प्रजा धर्मार्थकामैर्योजयति ।—A.S., I 4.
(b) दुष्प्रणीत कामक्रोधाभ्यामज्ञानाद् वानप्रस्थपरिव्राजकानपि कोपयति, किमङ्ग पुनर्गृहस्थान् । अप्रणीतो हि मात्स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति । बलीयानबल ग्रसते दण्डधराभावे । तेन गुप्त प्रभवति । —Ibid.

41 नीतिशास्त्रामृत धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधे ।
समुद्दध्रे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ।। —K.N S I. 6

42 *Dandanīti* was the title adopted by *uśanas* and *Arthaśāstra* by *Brhaspati* for their respective works which were very famous in Hindu classical times
—Jaysval, K P., *Hindu Polity*, p. 5

43. अर्थ एव प्रधान इति कौटिल्य । अर्थमूलौ धर्मकामाविति । —A.S., I. 7

44. धर्माय राजा भवति न कामकरणाय तु ।
मान्धातरिति जानीहि राजा लोकस्य रक्षिता ।।
राजा चरति चेद् धर्मं देवत्वायैव कल्पते ।
न चेद् धर्मं चरति नरकायैव गच्छति ।
धर्मे तिष्ठन्ति भूतानि धर्मो राजनि तिष्ठति ।
स राजा साधु य· शास्ति स राजा पृथिवीपति ।।—Mb A P 90.3-5

45. योहि धर्मपरो राजा देवांशोऽन्यश्च रक्षसाम् ।
अंशभूतो धर्मलोपी प्रजापीडाकरो भवेत् ।। —S N. I. 70

46. Supra, ch. II. foot note No I.

47. उत्तमोऽपि नृपो धर्मनाशनान्नीचतामियात् ।। —S.N IV. 7 424

48. Quoted by P.V. Pillai in his *Perspective of Power : India and China*, p 90

4 (a) आत्मानं प्रथम राजा विनयेनोपपादयेत् । - S.N. I. 92
(b) आत्मनश्च प्रजायाश्च दोषदर्श्युत्तमो नृप ।
विनियच्छति आत्मानमादौ भृत्यास्ततः प्रजा ।। —S.N. IV. 1 67

50. स्वधर्मविनान्नीचनृपोऽपि श्रेष्ठतामियात् ।
उत्तमोऽपि नृपो धर्मनाशनान्नीचतामियात् ॥ —S N IV. 7.424

51 आचारप्रेरको राजा ह्येतत्कालस्य कारणम् । —S.N.I. 22

52. (a) कालस्य कारण राजा सदसत्कर्मणस्त्वत । —S.N I. 60

(b) राजा कालस्य कारणम् —Mb A P. 69-79

53. मुदण्डैर्धर्मनिरता प्रजा: कुर्यान्महाभयै ।
नृप स्वधर्मनिरतो भूत्वा तेज क्षयोऽन्यथा ॥ —S N.I. 25

54. स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्कोशराष्ट्रदुर्गबलानि च ।
सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते राज्य तत्र मूर्धा नृप स्मृत ॥
दृगमात्य सुहृच्छ्रोत्र मुख कोशो बल मन ।
हस्तौ पादौ दुर्गराष्ट्रे राज्यागानि स्मृतानि हि ॥ —S.N I. 61-62

55 जायते धर्मनिरताः प्रजा दण्डभयेन च ।
करोत्याधर्षण नैव तथा चासत्यभाषणम् ॥ —S N,VI 1.46

56. (a) दण्ड्यस्यादण्डनात् नित्यमदण्ड्यस्य च दण्डनात् ।
अतिदण्डाच्च गुणिभिस्त्यज्यते पातकी भवेत् ॥ —S.N. IV. 1.52

(b) यस्यानियत कर्म साधुत्व वचने न त्वपि ।
सदैव कुटिल सख्यु स्वपदाद् द्राग् विनश्यति ॥ —S N IV. 7.414

CHAPTER V

1 आ त्वा अहार्षं अत एधि ध्रुव तिष्ठ अविऽचाचलि विश· त्वा सर्वा. वांछंतु मा त्वत् राष्ट्र अधि भ्रशत् ॥ 1 ॥ इह एव एधि मा अप च्योष्ठा पर्वतऽइव अपिऽचाचलि इद्रऽइव इह ध्रुव· तिष्ठ इह राष्ट्रं ऊँ धारय ॥2॥
· -R V. X. 173. 1—2.

2. इहैवेधि माप च्योष्ठाः पर्वत इवाविचाचलत् ।
इन्द्र इहेव ध्रुवस्तिष्ठेह राष्ट्रमु धारय ॥ —A.V. VI 87

3. ते देवा अब्रुवन् सप्रजापतिका अय वै देवानामोजिष्ठो बलिष्ठ सहिष्ठः सत्तम पारयिष्णुतम इममेवाभिषिञ्चामहा इति । —A.B. 38.1

4. अन्ध. करणहीनत्वान्न वै राजा पिता तव । —Mb U.P. 147.39

5. तत्र स्वामिसम्पत्—महाकुलीनो दैवबुद्धिसत्वसपन्नो वृद्धदर्शी धार्मिक सत्य वागविसवादक: कृतज्ञ स्थूललक्षो महोत्साहोऽदीर्घसूत्र शक्यसामन्तो दृढ बुद्धिरक्षुद्रपरिषत्को विनयकाम इत्याभिगामिका गुणा. —A S. VI 1

6 साधुकारी साधुवादी । त्रय्यामान्वीक्षिक्या वाऽभिविनीतः ।। शुचिर्जितेन्द्रियो गुणवत्सहायोपायसम्पन्न । सम प्रजासु स्यात् । हितमासा कुर्वीत ।

—G.D.S. II. 2.2-9

7. (a) शास्त्र प्रज्ञा धृतिर्दाक्ष्यं प्रागल्भ्य धारयिष्णुता ।
उत्साहो वाग्मिता दाढ्यमापत्क्लेशसहिष्णुता ।।
प्रभाव शुचिता मैत्री त्याग सत्य कृतज्ञता ।
श्रुत शील दमश्चेति गुणा सम्पत्तिहेतव ।। —S.N.I. 21-22

(b) त्याग सत्यञ्च शौर्यञ्च त्रय एते महागुणा ।
प्राप्नोति गुणान्सर्वानितैर्युक्तो नराधिप ।। —K.N.S.I IV 24

8. दातार सविभक्तार मार्दवोपगत शुचिम् ।
असत्यक्तमनुष्य त जना कुर्वते प्रियम् ।। —Mb. S P. 94.27

9. एतैरेव गुणैर्युक्तो राजा शास्त्रविशारद ।
एष्टव्यो धर्मपरमः प्रजापालनतत्पर ।।
धीरो मर्षी शुचि शीघ्र काले पुरुषकारवित् ।······
······युक्तदण्डो न निर्दण्डो धर्मकार्यानुशासक. ।
चारनेत्र परावेक्षी धर्मार्थकुशल सदा ।
राजा गुणशताकीर्ण एष्टव्यस्तादृशो भवेत् ।। —Mb.S.P. 118. 16-23

10. इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वती. ।। —M.S. VII-4

11. यस्मादेषा सुरेन्द्राणा मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृप· ।
तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ।। —M.S. VII-7

12. सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्कः सोम स धर्मराट् ।
स कुबेर स वरुण. स महेन्द्र प्रभावत । —M.S. VII-7

13. यमो वैश्रवण: शक्रो वरुणश्च महाबल. ।
विशिष्यन्ते नरेन्द्रेण वृत्तेन महता तत: । —R.A.K 67 35

14. बलवान्बुद्धिमाञ्छूरो यो हि युक्तपराक्रमी ।
वित्तपूर्णां मही भुंक्ते स भूयो भूपतिर्भवेत् ।। —S. N. I. 175

15. यत्र नीतिबले चोभे तत्र श्रीस्सर्वतोमुखी । —S.N. I. 17

16. महाधनाच्च नृपते विभात्यल्पोऽपि पार्थिव ।
अव्याहताज्ञस्तेजस्वी एभिरेव गुणैर्भवेत् ।। —S.N. I. 17

17. पूज्यस्त्वेभिर्गुणैर्भूपो न भूप कुलसभव: ।
न कुले पूज्यते यादृग्बलशौर्यपराक्रमै ।। —S N I 182

18. नयस्य विनयो मूलं विनय शास्त्रनिश्चयात् ।
विनयस्येन्द्रियजयस्तद्युक्त: शास्त्रमृच्छति ।। —S.N. I. 91

19. आत्मानं प्रथम राजा विनयेनोपपादयेत् ।
तत पुत्रास्ततोऽमात्यास्ततो भृत्यास्तत प्रजा । —S N. I. 92

20. (a) दृष्ट्वा शास्त्राण्यथात्मान सन्नियम्य यथोचितम । —S N.I. 122

(b) निगृहीतेन्द्रियग्राम कुर्वीत गुरुसेवनम् ।। —S N.I. 147

21. प्रकीर्णविषयारण्ये धावन्त विप्रमाथिनम् ।
ज्ञानाकुशेन कुर्वीत वशमिन्द्रियदन्तिनम् । —S N.I. 97

22. व्यायच्छन्तश्च बहव. स्त्रीषु नाश गता अमी ।
इन्द्रदण्डक्यनहुषरावणाद्या नृपा ह्यतः । —S.N.I 113

23. दृष्ट्वा शास्त्राण्यथात्मान सन्नियम्य यथोचितम् ।
कुर्यान्नृप. स्ववृत्त तु परत्रेह सुखाय च ।। —S.N.I. 123

24. यस्यास्ति नियत कर्म नियत. सद्ग्रहो यदि ।
नियतोऽसद्ग्रहत्यागो नृपत्व सोऽश्नुते चिरम् । —S.N. IV 7.413

25. यस्यानियत कर्मासाधुत्व वचने त्वपि ।
सदैव कुटिल: सख्यु स्वपदाद् द्राग् विनश्यति ।। —S.N. IV-7.414

26. दण्डक्यो नृपति. कामात् क्रोधाच्च जनमेजय ।
लोभादैलस्तु राजर्षि र्मोहाद् वातापिरासुरः ।।
पौलस्त्यो राक्षसो मानान्मदाद् दंभोद्भवो नृप: ।
प्रयाता निधन ह्येते शत्रुषड्वर्गमाश्रिता ।। —S.N I 143-45

27. शत्रुषड्वर्गमुत्सृज्य जामदग्न्य प्रतापवान् ।
अम्बरीषो महाभागो बुभुजाते चिर महीम् । —S N.I. 146

28. अतिभीरुमतिदीर्घसूत्रं चातिप्रमादिनम् ।
व्यसनाद् विषयाक्रान्त न भजन्ति नृपं प्रजा. । —S.N.I. 140

29. मृगयाऽक्षास्तथा पान गर्हितानि महीभुजाम् ।
दृष्टास्तेभ्यस्तु विपद पाण्डुनैषधवृष्णिषु ॥
एकस्तनोति दुष्कीर्ति दुर्गुणः सयशो न किम् । —S.N.I. 141-42

30. यौवन जीवित चित्त छाया लक्ष्मीश्च स्वामिता ।
चञ्चलानि षडेतानि ज्ञात्वा धर्मरतो भवेत् ॥ —S N.I 138

31. अदानेनापमानेन छलाच्च कटुवाक्यत ।
राज्ञ प्रबलदण्डेन नृप मुञ्चन्ति वै प्रजा ॥ – S.N. I 139

32 नटनायकगणिकामल्लषण्ढाल्पजातिषु ।
योऽतिसक्तो नृपो निद्य स हि शत्रुमुखे स्थित ॥ —S.N.I. 127

33 प्रतिभाबुद्धिवैशद्य धैर्यं चित्तविनिश्चयम् ।
तनोति मात्रया पीत मद्यमन्यद् विनाशकृत् ॥—S N.I 115-16

34 काम प्रजापालने च क्रोध शत्रुनिबर्हणे ।
सेनासधारणे लोभो योज्यो राज्ञा जयार्थिना ॥ —S.N I 117

35. परस्त्रीसगमे कामो लोभो नान्यधनेषु च ।
स्वप्रजादण्डने क्रोधो नैव धार्यो नृपै कदा ॥ —S N.I. 118

36. अत सदा नीतिशास्त्रमभ्यसेद्यत्नतो नृप ।
यद् विज्ञानान्नृपाद्याश्च शत्रुजिल्लोकरजका: ॥ —S.N I. 6

37. सर्वाभीष्टकर नीतिशास्त्र स्यात्सर्वसम्मतम् ।
अत्यावश्य नृपस्यापि स सर्वेषा प्रभुर्यतः ॥ —S.N.I. 12

38. सत्कृतान्नियमान्सर्वान् सदा सपालयेन्नृपः ।
तदैव नृपति. पूज्यो भवेत् सर्वेषु नान्यथा ॥ —S.N IV 7-412

39. नृपस्य परमो धर्म प्रजाना परिपालनम् ।
दुष्टनिग्रहण नित्यं न नीत्याऽतो बिना ह्युभे ॥—S.N I. 14

40. शत्रवो नीतिहीनाना यथाऽपथ्याशिना गदा ।
सद्य. क्वचिच्च कालेन भवति न भवन्ति च ॥ —S N.I. 14

41. अनीतिरेव सच्छिद्र राज्ञो नित्य भयावहम् ।
शत्रुसवर्धन प्रोक्त बलह्रासकर महत् ॥ – S N.I 15

42. शास्त्राय गुरुसयोगः शास्त्र विनयवृद्धये ।
विद्याविनीतो नृपति सता भवति संमत ।
प्रेर्यमाणोऽप्यसद्वृत्तैर्नाकार्येषु प्रवर्तते ॥ —S.N.I. 148-49

43. जितेन्द्रियस्य नृपते र्नीतिशास्त्रानुसारिण ।
भवन्त्युच्चलिता लक्ष्म्य कीर्तयश्च नभस्पृश ॥ —S N I 151

44. नीतिं त्यक्त्वा वर्तते य स्वतन्त्र स हि दु खभाक् । —S.N.I 16

45. यत्र नीतिबले चोभे तत्र श्री सर्वतोमुखी । —S N I. 17

46 धर्माद् वैश्रवणो राजा विधाय बुभुजे भुवम् ।
अधर्माच्चैव नहुषः प्रतिपेदे रसातलम् ॥
वेनो नष्टस्त्वधर्मेण पृथुर्वृद्ध स्वधर्मतः ।
तस्माद् धर्मं पुरस्कृत्य यतेतार्थाय पार्थिवः ॥ —S.N.I 68-69

47. यो हि धर्मपरो राजा देवांशोऽन्यश्च रक्षसाम् ।
अंशभूतो धर्मलोपी प्रजापीडाकरो भवेत् ॥ —S.N I 70

48. सुपुण्यो यत्र नृपतिर्धर्मिष्ठास्तत्र हि प्रजा ।
महापापी यत्र राजा तत्राधर्मपरो जन ॥
न कालवर्षी पर्जन्यस्तत्र भूर्न महाफला ।
जायते राष्ट्रह्रासश्च शत्रुवृद्धिधनक्षय ॥ —S N.IV.I. 60-61

49 सुराप्यपि वरो राजा न स्त्रैणो नातिकोपवान् ।
लोकाश्चण्डस्तापयति स्त्रैणो वर्णान्विलुम्पति ॥ —S.N IV. I. 62

50. मद्यप्येकश्च भ्रष्ट स्याद् बुद्ध्या च व्यवहारत ।
कामक्रोधौ मद्यतमौ सर्वमद्याधिकौ यत ॥
धनप्राणहरो राजा प्रजायाश्चातिलोभत ।
तस्मादेतत् त्रय त्यक्त्वा दण्डधारी भवेन्नृप ॥—S N. IV. I. 63-64.

51. यो हि स्वधर्मनिरत स तेजस्वी भवेदिह ।
विना स्वधर्मान्न सुख स्वधर्मो हि परंतप ॥

52. सुदण्डैर्धर्मनिरता प्रजा कुर्यान्महाभयैः । —S N. I. 25.

53. अभिषिक्तोऽनभिषिक्तो नृपत्व तु यदाऽप्नुयात् ।
बुद्ध्या बलेन शौर्येण ततो नीत्याऽनुपालयन् ॥
प्रजा सर्वा. प्रतिदिनमच्छिद्रो दण्डधृक् सदा ॥ —S.N.I. 26-27

54. तप स्वधर्मरूप यद् वर्धित येन वै सदा ।
देवास्तु किंकरास्तस्य किं पुनर्मनुजा भुवि ॥ —S.N.I 24

55. नृपः स्वधर्मनिरतो भूत्वा तेजः क्षयोऽन्यथा । —S.N.I. 26

56. इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चापि मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वती ॥
जंगमस्थावराणां च हीश तपसा भवेत् ।
भागभाग् रक्षणे दक्षो यथेन्द्रो नृपतिस्तथा ॥—S.N.I. 71-72

57. वायुर्गन्धस्य सदसत्कर्मण· प्रेरको नृप ।
धर्मप्रवर्तकोऽधर्मनाशकस्तमसो रवि ॥
दुष्कर्मदण्डको राजा यमः स्याद् दण्डकृद्यम ।
अग्निश्शुचिस्तथा राजा रक्षार्थं सर्वभागभुक् ॥
पुष्यत्यपा रसै सर्वं वरुण स्वधनैर्नृप ।
करैश्चन्द्रो ह्लादयति राजा स्वगुणकर्मभि ।
कोशाना रक्षणे दक्ष स्यान्निधीना धनाधिप ।
चन्द्राशेन विना सर्वैरशैर्नो भाति भूपति । —S N.I 73-76
Cf. Mb. A P 68. 40-47

58. पिता माता गुरूर्भ्राता बन्धुर्वैश्रवणो यम ।
नित्य सप्तगुणै रेतैर्युक्तो राजा न चान्यथा ॥
गुणसाधनसदक्ष स्वप्रजाया पिता यथा ।
क्षमयित्र्यपराधाना माता पुष्टिविधायिनी ॥
हितोपदेष्टा शिष्यस्य सुविद्याध्यापको गुरु· ।
स्वभागोद्धारकृद् भ्राता यशाशास्त्र पितुर्धनात् ।
आत्मस्त्रीधनगुह्याना गोप्ता बन्धुस्तु मित्रवत् ।
धनदस्तु कुबेरः स्याद्यम स्याच्च सुदण्डकृत् ॥ —S.N.I. 77-80

59. दुष्टनिग्रहण दान प्रजायाः परिपालनम् ।
यजन राजसूयादे कोशाना न्यायतोऽर्जनम् ॥
करदीकरण राज्ञा रिपूणा परिमर्दनम् ।
भूमेरूपार्जनं भूयो राजवृत्त तु चाष्टधा ॥ —S.N. I. 123-24

60. नृपस्य परमो धर्मः प्रजाना परिपालनम् । —S.N.I. 24

61. अरक्षितार नृपति··· देवा घ्नन्ति त्यजन्त्यध: ।—S.N. I. 120

62. न प्रजाः पालिता. सम्यक् ते वै षढतिला नृपा ।—S.N.I. 125

63. निवृत्तिरसदाचाराद् दमनं दण्डतश्च तत् ।
येन सदम्यते जन्तुरूपाये दण्ड एव स ॥ —S.N. IV. I. 43

64. राजदण्डभयाल्लोक स्वस्वधर्मपरो भवेत् । —S N I. 23

65. निर्भर्त्सन चापमानोऽनशन बन्धन तथा ।
ताडनं द्रव्यहरण पुरान्निर्वासनाङ्कने ।।
व्यस्तक्षौरमसद्यानमङ्गच्छेदो वधस्तथा ।
युद्धमेते ह्यु पायाश्च दण्डस्यैव प्रभेदक' ।। —S. N IV I 44-45

66 जायते धर्मनिरता प्रजा दण्डभयेन च ।
करोत्याधर्षण नैव तथा चासत्यभाषणम् ।।
क्रूराश्च मार्दव यान्ति दुष्टा, दौष्ट्य त्यजन्ति च ।
पशवोऽपि वश यान्ति विद्रवन्ति च दस्यव ।।
पिशुना मूकता यान्ति भय यान्त्याततायिन ।
करदाश्च भवन्त्यन्ये वित्रास यान्ति चापरे ।।
अतो दण्डधरो नित्य स्यान्नृपो धर्मरक्षणे ।। —S.N. IV. I. 46-49

67. गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानत ।
उत्पथ प्रतिपन्नस्य कार्यं भवति शासनम् ।। —S N IV I. 50

68 दण्ड एव हि धर्माणा शरण परम स्मृतम् ।
दण्ड्यस्यादण्डनान्नित्यमदण्ड्यस्य च दण्डनात् ।
अतिदण्डाच्च गुणिभिस्त्यज्यते पातकी भवेत् ।।— S N IV I. 51-52

69 अन्तमृं दुर्बहि क्रूरो भूत्वा स्वा दण्डयेत् प्रजाम् ।
अत्युग्रदण्डकल्प स्यात् स्वभावादहितकारिण ।। —S.N IV. I. 65

70 कायिको वाचिको मानसिक सासर्गिकस्तथा ।
चतुर्विधोऽपराध स बुद्ध्यबुद्धिकृतो द्विधा ।। —S.N. IV. I 68

71 नेत्रवक्त्रविकाराद्यैर्भावै र्मानसिक तथा ।
क्रियया कायिक वीक्ष्य वाचिक क्रूरशब्दतः ।।
सासर्गिकं साहचर्यैर्ज्ञात्वा गौरवलाघवम् ।
उत्पन्नस्योत्पत्स्यमानाना कार्याणा दण्डमावहेत् ।। —S.N. IV I. 69-71

72. नीचकर्मकर कुर्याद् बन्धयित्वा तु पापिनम् ।
मासमात्र' त्रिमास वा षण्मास वापि वत्सरम् ।
यावज्जीव तु वा कश्चिन्न न कश्चिद् वधमर्हति ।। —S N IV. I. 91

73. न निहन्याच्च भूतानि त्विति जागर्ति वै श्रुतिः ।
तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन वधदण्ड त्यजेन्नृपः ।। S.N. IV-1. 92

74 अवरोधाद् बन्धनेन ताडनेन च कर्षयेत् ।
लोभान्न कर्षयेद् राजा धन दण्डेन वै प्रजाम् ।।
नापराधंतु क्षमते प्रचण्डो धनहारक ।
नृपो यदा तदा लोक क्षुभ्यते भिद्यते परै ।। S N.IV 1. 93-95

75 अत सुभागदण्डी स्यात् क्षमावान् रञ्जको नृप । S.N IV.1. 96

76 मद्यप कितव स्तेनो जारश्चण्डश्च हिंसक ।
त्यक्तवर्णाश्रमाचारो नास्तिक शठ एव हि ।
मिथ्याभिशापक कर्णेजपार्यदेवदूषकौ ।
असत्यवाङ्न्यासहारी तथा वृत्तिविघातक । —S N IV 1. 97-107

77. स्वभावदुष्टानेतान् हि ज्ञात्वा राष्ट्राद् विवासयेत् ।
द्वीपे निवासितव्यास्ते बद्धा दुर्गोदरेऽथवा ।।
मार्गसंस्करणे योज्या कदन्नन्यूनभोजना ।। S. N IV.I 108-110

78. निगडैर्बन्धयित्वा त योजयेन्मार्गसंस्कृतौ ।
विद्यात् पणसहस्र तु दण्ड उत्तमसाहस: ।
तदर्धश्च तदर्धश्च मध्यम: प्रथम. क्रमात् ।
प्रथमे साहसे दण्ड प्रथमश्च क्रमात् परौ ।
मध्यमे मध्यमो धार्यश्चोत्तमे तूत्तमो नृपै । —S N IV. 1. 115-118

79. तदेतत्क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं यद्धर्मस्तस्माद् धर्मात् पर नास्त्यतो अबलीयान् बलीया ~ समाश ~ सते धर्मेण यथा राज्ञैव यो वै स धर्म सत्य वै तत्तस्मात् सत्य वदन्तमाहुर्धर्मं वदतीति धर्मं वा वदन्त सत्यं वदतीत्येद्ध्येवैतदुभयं भवति ।

—Brhadārnyaka Upannısad 1. 4-1

80. स्वप्रजाधर्मसंस्थान सदसत्प्रविचारत ।
जायते चार्थससिद्धिर्व्यवहारस्तु येन स: —S.N. IV 5-4

81 स्वेष्टहानिकर शत्रुर्दुष्ट पापपचारवान् । —S N IV. 5-4

82. शत्रोरनिष्टकरणान्निवृत्ति शत्रुनाशनम् ।
पापाचारनिवृत्तिर्यै दुष्टनिग्रहणं हि तत् ।। —S.N.IV. 5-3

83. धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण क्रोधलोभविवर्जितः ।
सप्राड्विवाक सामात्य सब्राह्मणपुरोहितः ।
समाहितमतिः पश्येद् व्यवहाराननुक्रमात् ।
नैक पश्येच्च कार्याणि वादिनो शृणुयाद्वच. ।
द्वहंसि च नर. प्राज्ञ समुयाश्चैव कातरन ।। S N IV. 5 57

84 यदा न कुर्यान्नृपति स्वयं कार्यविनिर्णयम् ,
तदा तत्र नियुञ्जीत ब्राह्मणं वेदपारगम् ।
दान्त कुलीन मध्यस्थमनुद्वेगकरं स्थिरम् ।
परत्र भीरू धर्मिष्ठमुद्युक्त क्रोधवर्जितम् ।। —S N IV 5. 12-13

85. यदा विप्रो न विद्वान् स्यात् क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् ।
वैश्य वा धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्र यत्नेन वर्जयेत ।। —S N IV 5 14

86 व्यवहारविद प्राज्ञा वृत्तशीलगुणान्विता. ।
रिपौ मित्रे समा ये च धर्मज्ञा सत्यवादिन ।
निरालसा जितक्रोधकामलोभा. प्रियवदा ।।
राज्ञा नियोजितव्यास्ते सभ्या सर्वासु जातिषु ।।—S N IV.5 16-17

87 धर्मयुक्ताश्च ये यत्र यन्निबन्धनियोजना ।
तत्रत्यगुणदोषाणा त एव हि विचारका ।। —S N IV 5 18-23

88. राजा तु धार्मिकान् सभ्यान् नियुञ्ज्यात् सुपरीक्षितान् ।
व्यवहारधुर वोढु ये शक्ता पुङ्गवा इव ।। —S.N IV.5. 25

89. यस्त्वधर्मेण कार्याणि मोहात् कुर्यान्नराधिप: ।
अचिरात्त दुरात्मान वशं कुर्वन्ति शत्रव ।। —S.N IV. 5 9

90 अस्वर्ग्या लोकनाशाय परानीकभयावहा ।
आयुर्बीजहरी राज्ञामस्ति वाक्ये स्वयकृति ।। —S N IV 5 10

91. दैवी वाच स वदति य शास्त्रमुपजीवति । —S N.IV. 5.27

92 अनियुक्तो नियुक्तो वा धर्मज्ञो वक्तुमर्हति । S.N IV 5.27

93. सभा वा न प्रवेष्टव्या वक्तव्य वा समञ्जसम् ।
अब्रुवन् विब्रुवश्चापि नरो भवति किल्विषी ।। —S N IV. 5-28

94 सर्वेषामधिको राजा धर्माधर्मनियोजक । —S.N IV.5 28-31

95. एकद्वित्रिचतुर्वारं व्यवहारानुचिन्तनम् ।
कार्यं पृथक् पृथक् सभ्यै राज्ञा श्रेष्ठोत्तरै सह ।। —S N.IV. 5-34

96. नृपोऽधिकृतसभ्याश्च स्मृतिगणकलेखकौ ।
हेमोग्न्यम्बुस्वपुरुषा साधनाङ्गानि वै दश । —S N IV. 5 36-37

97. व्यवहारान् दिदृक्षुस्तु ब्राह्मणै सह पार्थिव: ।
मन्त्रज्ञैर्मन्त्रिभिश्चैव विनीत. प्रविशेत् सभाम् ।
धर्मासनमधिष्ठाय कार्यदर्शनमारभेत ।

पूर्वोत्तरसमो भूत्वा राजा पृच्छेद् विवादिनौ।
प्रत्यहं देशदृष्टैश्च शास्त्रदृष्टैश्च हेतुभि ।
जातिजानपदान् धर्मान्छ्रेणिधर्मांस्तथैव च ।
समीक्ष्य कुलधर्मांश्च स्वधर्मं प्रतिपालयेत्। —S N IV.5. 43-45

98. देशकुलजातीना च ये धर्मा प्राक् प्रवर्तिता ।
तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजा प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथा । —S.N IV. 5-46

99. न्यायान् पश्येत्तु मध्याह्ने पूर्वाह्णे स्मृतिदर्शनम् —S.N.IV. 5-35

100. मनुष्यमारणे स्तेये साहसेऽत्ययिके सदा
न कालनियमस्तत्र सद्य एव विवेचनम् ॥—S.N IV. 5-54

101. नोत्पादयेत् स्वय कार्य राजा नाप्यस्य पूरुषः।
न रागेण न लोभेन न क्रोधेन ग्रसेन्नृपः ॥
परैरप्रापितानर्थान्नि चापि स्वमनीषया ।
छलानि चापराधांश्च पदानि नृपतेस्तथा ।
स्वयमेतानि गृह्णीयान्नृपस्त्वावेदकैर्विना ॥—S.N.IV. 5. 65-67

102. आज्ञोल्लंघनकारित्व स्त्रीवधो वर्णसकरः ।
परस्त्रीगमनं चौर्यं गर्भश्चैव पतिं विना ॥
वाक्पारुष्यमवाच्यायं दण्डपारुष्यमेव च ।
गर्भस्य पातनं चैवेत्यपराधा दशैव तु ॥ —S.N.IV.5. 81-82

103 अशोधयित्वा पक्षं ये ह्युत्तरं दापयन्ति तान् ।
रागाल्लोभाद् भयाद्वापि स्मृत्यर्थे वाधिकारिणः ॥
सभ्यादीन् दण्डयित्वा तु ह्यधिकारान्निवर्तयेत् । —S.N.IV. 5.10

104. यस्याभियोग कुरुते तत्त्वेनाशङ्कयाऽथवा ।
तमेवाह्वानयेद् राजा मुद्रया पुरुषेण वा ॥
काल देशं च विज्ञाय कार्याणाञ्च बलाबलम् ।
अकल्यादीनपि शनैर्यानैराह्वानयेद् नृप ॥ —S.N.IV.5. 106-7

105. व्यवहारानभिज्ञेन ह्यन्यकार्याकुलेन च ।
प्रत्यर्थिनाऽर्थिना तज्ज्ञः कार्यः प्रतिनिधिस्तदा ॥ S.N.IV. 5-108

106. लोभेन त्वन्यथा कुर्वन् नियोगी दण्डमर्हति ॥—S.N. IV-5.116

107. मनुष्यमारणे स्तेये परदाराभिमर्शने ।
अभक्ष्यभक्षणे चैव कन्याहरणदूषणे ॥

पारुष्ये कूटकरणे नृपद्रोहे च साहसे ।
प्रतिनिधिर्न दातव्यः कर्ता तु विवदेत् स्वयम् ॥ —S.N. IV-5 119-120

108. प्रगल्भो बहुविश्वस्तश्चाधीनो विश्रुतो धनी ।
उभयो प्रतिभूर्ग्राह्य समर्थं कार्यनिर्णये ॥ S N. IV 5.126

109. अन्योऽन्ययो समक्ष तु वादिनो पक्षमुत्तरम् ।
न हि गृह्णन्ति ये सभ्या दण्ड्यास्ते चौरवत् सदा ॥ —S N. IV-5 151

110. न कालहरण कार्यं राज्ञा साधनदर्शने ।
महान् दोषो भवेत् कालाद धर्मव्यापत्तिलक्षण ॥ —S.N IV-5 164

111 द्वैधे बहूना वचन समेषु गुणिना वच ।
तत्राधिकगुणाना च गृह्णीयाद् वचन सदा ॥ —S.N. IV-5.185

112. साक्षिसभ्यावसन्नानां दूषणं दर्शन पुन ।
स्वचर्चावसिताना च प्रोक्त पौनर्भवो विधि ॥—S.N. IV-5.277

113. अमात्य प्राड् विवाको वा ये कुर्यु कार्यमन्यथा ।
तत्सर्वं नृपति कुर्यात्तान् सहस्र तु दण्डयेत् ॥—S N. IV-5.282

114. कामक्रोधौ तु संयम्य योऽर्थान् धर्मेण पश्यति ।
प्रजास्तमनुवर्तन्ते समुद्रमिव सिन्धव ॥ —S.N IV. 5. 282

115. येन केन प्रकारेण धन सचिनुयान्नृप ।
तेन संरक्षयेद् राष्ट्र बलं यज्ञादिका क्रिया ॥
बलप्रजारक्षार्थं यज्ञार्थं कोशसग्रह ।
परत्रेह च सुखदो नृपस्यान्यश्च दु खद ॥—S N. IV 2. 2-3

116. न दद्याद् द्व्यगुलमपि भूमे स्वत्वनिवर्तकम् । S.N. IV. 2.81

117. त्यक्त्वा नीतिबल स्वीयप्रजापीडनतो धनम् ।
संचितं येन तत्तस्य सुराज्यं शत्रुसाद् भवेत् ॥ —S N. II. 173

118 वृक्षान् सपुष्य यत्नेन फलं पुष्प विचिन्वति ।
मालाकार इवात्यन्तं भागहारस्तथाविध ॥ —S N. IV 2. 110

119. मालाकार इव ग्राह्यो भागो नाङ्गारकारवत् ।
बहुमध्याल्पफलतस्तारतम्यं विमृश्य च ॥ —S.N. IV-2, 10

120. यदा शत्रुविनाशार्थं बलसरक्षणोद्यत ।
विशिष्टदण्डशुल्कादि धन लोकात्तदा हरेत् ॥ —S.N. IV-2, 11

121. धनिकेभ्यो भृतिं दत्वा स्वापत्तौ तद्धनं हरेत् ।
राजा स्वापत्समुत्तीर्णस्तत् स्व दद्यात् सवृद्धिकम् ।। – S.N. IV-2, 18-19

122 मालाकरस्य वृत्त्यैव स्वप्रजारक्षणेन च ।
शत्रु हि करदीकृत्य तद्धनै कोशवर्धनम् ।।
करोति स नृप श्रेष्ठो मध्यमो वैश्यवृत्तित ।
अधम सेवया दण्डतीर्थदेवकरग्रहै ।। —S.N. IV-2, 204

123. विक्रेतृक्रेतृतो राजभागः शुल्कमुदाहृतम् ।।—S.N IV-106-107

124. क्वचिन्नैवासकृच्छुल्क राष्ट्रे ग्राह्यं नृपेश्छलात् ।।
द्वात्रिंशाश हरेद् राजा विक्रेतु क्रेतुरेव वा ।
विशाशं वा षोडशाश शुल्क मूल्याविरोधकम् ।।
न हीनसममूल्याद्धि शुल्क विक्रेतृतो हरेत् ।
लाभ दृष्ट्वा हरेच्छुल्क क्रेतृतश्च सदा नृप ।। – S.N. IV.2. 106-108

125 बहुमध्याल्पफलिता भुवं मानमिता सदा ।
ज्ञात्वा पूर्वं भागमिच्छु पश्चाद्भाग विकल्पयेत् ।। —IV. 2. 109-110

126 तडागवापिकाकूपमातृकादेवमातृकात् ।
देशान्नदीमातृकात्तु राजाऽनुक्रमतः सदा ।।
तृतीयाश चतुर्थांशमर्धांश तु हरेत्फलम् ।
षष्ठाशमूषरात्तद्वत् पाषाणादिसमाकुलात् ।।
स्वर्णादर्घं च रजतस्तृतीयाशं च ताम्रत ।
चतुर्थांश तु षष्ठाश लोहाद् वङ्गाच्च सीसकात् ।।
रत्नार्धं चैव क्षारार्धं खनिजाद् व्ययशेषत ।
लाभाधिक्य कर्षकादेर्यथा दृष्ट हरेत् फलम् ।। —S N. IV. 2. 112-16-20

127. तस्य वृद्ध्यै तडागे वा वापिका कृत्रिमा नदीम् ।
कुर्वन्त्यन्यत् तद्विध वा कर्षन्त्यभिनवा भुवम् ।।
यद्व्ययाद्द्विगुण यावन्न तेभ्यो भागमाहरेत् ।। —S.N. IV. 2. 119-20

128. गृहीत्वा तत्प्रतिभुवं धनं प्राक् तत्समंतु वा ।
विभागशो गृहीत्वापि मासि मासि ऋतावृतौ ।।
षोडशद्वादशदशाष्टांशतो वाऽधिकारिणः ।
स्वांशात् षष्ठांशभागेन ग्रामपान् सन्नियोजयेत् ।। —S.N. IV-2. 123-24

1 29. वार्धुषिकाच्च कौसीदाद् द्वात्रिंशांशं हरेन्नृपः ।
गृहाद्याधारभूशुल्क कृष्टभूमिरिवाहरेत् ।।

तथा चापणिकेभ्यस्तु पण्यभूशुल्कमाहरेत् ।
मार्गसस्काररक्षार्थं मार्गगेभ्यो हरेत् फलम् ॥—IV-2 126

130. सर्वत फलभुग् भूत्वा दासवत्स्यात्तु रक्षणे । —S.N. IV. 128

131. स्वधर्माचरणे दक्षो देवताराधने रत ।
निःस्पृह. स च कर्तव्यो देवतुष्टिपति· सदा ॥ —S.N. II 164

132. शृङ्गाटके ग्राममध्ये विष्णोर्वा शकरस्य च ।
गणेशस्य रवेर्देव्या प्रासादान् क्रमतो न्यसेत् ॥ —S.N IV. 4 66

133. देवता तु पुरस्कृत्य नृत्यादीन् वीक्ष्य सर्वदा ।
न मनः स्वोपभोगार्थं विदध्यात् यत्नतो नृप ॥—S N. IV. 4. 205

134. विद्याकलोत्तमान् दृष्ट्वा वत्सरे पूजयेच्च तान् ।
विद्याकलानां वृद्धि स्यात्तथा कुर्यान्नृप सदा ॥—S.N.I. 370

135. गुणी तावद् देवतार्थं विसृजेच्च सदैव हि ।
आरामार्थं गृहार्थं वा दद्याद् दृष्ट्वा कुटुम्बिनम् ॥ —S.N.I. 212

136. ग्रामे ग्राम्यान् वने वन्यान् वृक्षान् संरोपयेन्नृप ।—S N. IV. 4.46.

137. याचकं विमुख नैव करोति न च संग्रहम् ।
दानशीलश्च निर्लोभो गुणज्ञश्च निरालसः ॥
दयालुर्मृदुवाग्दानपात्रविन्नतितत्पर: ।
नित्यमेभिर्गुणैर्युक्तो दानाध्यक्ष प्रकीर्तित ॥—S.N. II. 165-66

138. कुर्याद्दिनकृत्यं तु राजधान्या वसन्नृपः ।
उत्थाय पश्चिमे यामे मुहूर्तद्वितयेन वै ॥
नियतायश्च कत्यस्ति व्ययश्च नियत: कति ।
कोशभूतस्य द्रव्यस्य व्यय: कति गतस्तथा ॥
व्यवहारे मुद्रितायव्ययशेष कतीतिच ।
प्रत्यक्षतो लेखतश्च ज्ञात्वा चाद्य व्यय: कति ।
भविष्यति च तत्तुल्यं द्रव्य कोशात्तु निर्हरेत् ॥—S.N. I. 275-278

139. एवं विहरतो राज्ञ सुखं सम्यक् प्रजायते ।
अहोरात्रं विभज्यैव त्रिशद्भिस्तु मुहूर्तकैं ॥
नयेत्कालं वृथा नैव नयेत्स्त्रीमद्यसेवनै ॥ —S N.I. 285

140. ग्रामान् पुराणि देशांश्च स्वयं सवीक्ष्य वत्सरे ।
अधिकारिगणैः काश्च रञ्जिता· काश्च कर्षिता: ॥
प्रजास्तासां तु भूतेन व्यवहारं विचिन्तयेत् ॥ —S.N.I. 375-376

141 न भृत्यपक्षपाती स्यात्प्रजापक्ष समाश्रयेत् ।
प्रजाशतेन सद्विष्ट सत्यजेदधिकारिणम् ।। —S N.I. 377

142. अमात्यमपि संवीक्ष्य सकृदन्यायगामिनम् ।
एकान्ते दंडयेत्स्पष्टमभ्यासागस्कृत त्यजेत् ।। —S.N I 377-78

143. तुलाशासनमानाना नाणकस्यापि वा क्वचित् ।
निर्यासाना च धातूना सजातीना धृतस्यच ।।
मधुदुग्धवसादीना पिष्टादीना च सर्वदा ।
कूट नैव तु कार्यं स्याद बलाच्च लिखित जनैः ।।
उत्कोचग्रहृण नैव स्वामिकार्यविलोपनम् ।।—S.N.I 295-296

144 मातृणा पितृणां चैव पूज्याना विदुषामपि ।
नावमान नोपहास कुर्यु सद्वृत्तशालिनाम् ।
न भेद जनयेयुर्वै नृनार्यो. स्वामिभृत्ययो ।
भ्रातृणा गुरुशिष्याणा न कुर्यु पितृपुत्रयो ।।
वापीकूपारामसीमाधर्मशालासुरालयान् ।
मार्गान्नैव प्रबाधेयुर्हीनागविकलागकान् ।।— S.N.I. 298-300

145. द्यूत च मद्यपान च मृगया शस्त्रधारणम् ।
गोगजाश्वोष्ट्रमहिषीनृणा वै स्थावरस्य च ।।
रजतस्वर्णरत्नाना मादकस्य विषस्य च ।
क्रयं वा विक्रयं वापि मद्यसधानमेव च ।
क्रयपत्र दानपत्रमृणनिर्णयपत्रकम् ।
राजाज्ञया विना नैव जनै कार्यं चिकित्सितम् ।
महापापाभिशपन निधिग्रहणमेव च ।। —S.N I. 301-304

146. इति मच्छासन श्रुत्वा येऽन्यथा वर्तयन्ति तान् ।
विनिशिष्यामि दण्डेन महता पापकारकान् ।।
इति प्रबोधयेन्नित्य प्रजा. शासनडिंडिमैः ।।
लिखित्वा शासनं राजा धारयेत चतुष्पथे ।।
सदा चोद्यतदड स्यादसाधुषु च शत्रुषु । —S N I 311-13

147 इङ्गित चेष्टित यत्नात्प्रजानामधिकारिणाम् ।
प्रकृतीना च शत्रूणा सैनिकाना मत च यत् ।
सभ्याना बान्धवाना च स्त्रीणामन्त पुरे च यत् ।
शृणुयाद् गूढचारेभ्यो निशि चात्ययिके सदा ।
सावधानमना. सिद्धशस्रास्त्र संलिखेच्च तत् ।। —S.N.I. 335-337

148. वर्णितपस्विसंन्यासिनीचसिद्धस्वरूपिणम् ।
प्रत्यक्षेण छलेनैव गूढचार विशोधयेत् ।।
विना तच्छोधनात्तत्व न जानाति च नाप्यते ।—S N I 338-339

149. गजाश्वरथपश्वादीन् भृत्यान्दासास्तथैव च ।
सभारान्सैनिकान् कार्यक्षमान् ज्ञात्वा दिने दिने ।
संरक्षयेत्प्रयत्नेन सुजीर्णान् सत्यजेत् सुधी ।
सर्वविद्याकलाभ्यासे शिक्षयेद् भृतिपोषितान् ।
समाप्तिविद्य सदृष्ट्वा तत्कार्ये त नियोजयेत् । —S N I. 368

150. प्रजाना पालन कार्य नीतिपूर्वं नृपेण हि ।
मार्गसरक्षण कुर्यान्नृप पान्थसुखाय च ।।
पान्थप्रपीडका ये ये हृतव्यास्ते प्रयत्नत ।। —S N.I 314-15

151 सात्विक राजस चैव तासस त्रिविध तप ।
यादृक् तपति योऽत्यर्थ तादृग्भवति वै नृप ।। —S N I. 29

152. यो हि स्वधर्मनिरत प्रजाना परिपालक ।
यष्टा च सर्वयज्ञाना नेता शत्रुगणस्य च ।।
दानशौण्ड, क्षमी शूरो नि स्पृहो विषयेष्वपि ।
विरक्तः सात्विक स हि नृपोऽन्ते मोक्षमाप्नुयात् ।। —S.N.I 30-31

153. राजसो दाभिको लोभी विषयी वञ्चकश्शठ ।
मनसाऽन्यश्च वचसा कर्मणा कलहप्रिय ।
नीचप्रिय स्वतन्त्रश्च नीतिहीनश्छलान्तर ।
स तिर्यक्त्व स्थावरत्व भविताऽन्ते नृपाधम ।। —S.N.I. 33-34

154. देवाशान् सात्विको भुक्ते राक्षसाशास्तु तामस ।
राजसो मानवाशास्तु सत्त्वे धार्यं मनो तत. ।। —S N I. 35

155. स्वान् दुर्गुणान् परित्यज्य ह्यतिवादास्तितिक्षते ।
दानैर्मानैश्च सत्कारै. स्वप्रजारञ्जक. सदा ।
दान्त शूरश्च शस्त्रास्त्रकुशलोऽरिनिषूदन ।
अस्वतन्त्रश्च मेधावी ज्ञानविज्ञानसयुत. ।
नीचहीनो दीर्घदर्शी वृद्धसेवी सुनीतियुक् ।
गुणिजुष्ठस्तु यो राजा स ज्ञेयो देवताशक ।। —S N I. 83-85

156. विषदोषभयादन्न विमृशेत् कपिकुक्कुटै. ।
भुञ्जीत षड्रस नित्य न द्वित्रिरससकुलम् ।
हीनातिरिक्तं न कटु मधुरक्षारसकुलम् ।। —S.N.I. 326-28

157. विशिष्टचिह्नयुग् राजा स्वासने प्रविशेत् सुखम् ॥
सुभूषणः सुवसन. कवची मुकुटान्वित· ॥
सिद्धास्त्रनग्नशस्त्र सन् सावधानमनाः सदा ।
स्वर्णदण्डधरौ पार्श्वे प्रवेशनतिबोधकौ ॥ —S.N.I. 361-63

158 आरामादौ प्रकृतिभि स्त्रीभिश्च नटगायकैः ।
विहरेत्सावधानस्तु मागधैरैन्द्रजालिकै ॥
व्याघ्रादिभिर्वनचरैर्मयूराद्यैश्च पक्षिभि ।
क्रीडयेन्मृगया कुर्याद् दुष्टसत्त्वान्निपातयन् ॥ —S N.I. 331-32

159 गजाश्वरथयान तु प्रात साय सदाऽभ्यसेत् ।
व्यूहाभ्यास सैनिकाना स्वयं शिक्षेच्च शिक्षयेत् ॥ —S N.I 371,

160 पृष्टाग्रगान्क्रूरवेषान्नतिनीतिविशारदान् ।
सिद्धास्त्रनग्नशस्त्राश्च भटानारान्नियोजयेत् ॥
अत स्वबान्धवैर्मित्रै. स्वसाम्यप्रापितैर्गुणै ।
प्रकृतिभिर्नृपो गच्छेन्न नीचैस्तु कदाचन ॥ —S.N.I. 371-73

161 राज्यतुर्यांशदानेन स्थापयेत्तान्समन्तत ।
चतुर्दिक्ष्वथवा देशाधिपान् कुर्यात् सदा नृपः ।
गोगजाश्वोष्ट्रकोशानामाधिपत्ये नियोजयेत् ।
माता मातृसमा या च सा नियोज्या महानसे ॥ —S.N.I. 215-17

162. लोहसारमयश्चक्रसुभगो मञ्चकासन ।
स्वान्दोलायितरुढस्तु मध्यमासनसारथि ।
शस्त्रास्त्रसन्धायुंदर इष्टच्छायो मनोरम ।
एव विधो रथो राज्ञा रक्ष्यो नित्य सदश्वक· । —S N IV. 7. 30-31

163. अर्धचन्द्रा वर्तुला वा चतुरस्रा सुशोभनाम् ।
सप्राकारां सपरिखा ग्रामादीना निवेशिनीम् ।
सभामध्यां कूपवापीतडागादियुता सदा ।
चतुर्दिक्षु चतुर्द्वारा सुमार्गारामवीथिकाम् ।
दृढसुरालयमठपान्थशालाविराजिताम् ।
कल्पयित्वा वसेत्तत्र सुगुप्त. सप्रजो नृप ॥

164. परोपदेशकुशलः केवलो न भवेन्नृप । S N.I. 92

165 Supra, Chapter II, Foot Note No. 3

166. Supra, Chapter II, Foot Note No. 8

CHAPTER VI

1. (a) विशेषार्थी ततो भीष्मः पौत्राणां विनयेप्सया ।
इष्वस्त्रज्ञान् पर्यपृच्छदार्यान् वीर्यसमेतान् ।
नाल्पधी र्न महाभागस्तथा नानस्त्रकोविदः ।
नादेवसत्त्वो विनयेत्कुरुनस्त्रे महाबलान् ॥ —Mb.A.P. 121. 1-2

(b) See also the *Śukanāsopadeśa* in the Kādambarı of Bānabhaṭta.

2. प्रतिजग्राह तं भीष्मो गुरू पाण्डुसुतैः सह ।
पौत्रानादाय तान्सर्वान् वसूनि विविधानि च ॥
शिष्या इति ददौ राजन् द्रोणाय विधिपूर्वकम् ।
स च शिष्यान्महेष्वासः प्रतिजग्राह कौरवान् ॥ —Mb A.P 122, 39-40

3. The Hathı Gumpha Inscrıptıon of Kharvela, the Gırnar Inscrıptıon of Rudradāman and Allahabad Inscrıptıon of Samudra Gupta.

4 नवं हि द्रव्यं येन येनार्थजातेनोपदिह्यते तत्तदाचूषति ।
एवमयं नवबुद्धिर्यद् यद्युच्यते तत्तच्छास्त्रोपदेशमिवाभिजानाति ।
तस्माद् धर्ममर्थञ्चास्योपदिशेन्नाधर्ममनर्थञ्च ॥—A S.I. 17

5. स्वात्यन्तसन्निकर्षेण राजपुत्रास्तु रक्षयेत् ।
सद्भृत्यैश्चापि तत्स्वान्त छलैर्ज्ञात्वा सदा स्वयम् ॥
स्वधर्मनिरताञ्छूरान् भक्तान्नीतिमत सदा ।
सरक्षयेद् राजपुत्रान् बालानपि सुयत्नतः ॥ —S.N. II. 17

6. लोलुभ्यमानास्तेऽर्थेषु हन्युरेनमरक्षिताः ।
रक्ष्यमाणा यदि छिद्र कथञ्चित् प्राप्नुवन्ति ते ॥—S.N II. 17

7 सिंहशावा इव घ्नन्ति रक्षितार नृपं द्रुतम् ।
राजपुत्रा मदोद्भूता गजा इव निरकुशा । —S N. II. 19

8. सुवस्त्राद्यैर्भूषयित्वा लालयित्वा सुक्रीडनैः ।
अर्हयित्वाऽऽसनाद्यैश्च पालयित्वा सुभोजनैः ॥
कृत्वा तु यौवराज्यार्हान् यौवराज्येऽभिषेचयेत् । —S.N II. 24.8

9. व्यसने सज्जमानं त क्लेशयेद् व्यसनाश्रयैः ।
दुष्टं गजमिवोद्वृत्तं कुर्वीत सुखबन्धनम् ॥ —S.N.II. 27

10 प्राप्यापि महती वृद्धि वर्तेत पितुराज्ञया ।
पुत्रस्य पितुराज्ञापि परम भूषण स्मृतम् ।। —S.N II. 38

11 पितुराज्ञोल्लघनेन प्राप्यापि पदमुत्तमम् ।
तस्माद् भ्रष्टा भवन्तीह दासवद् राजपुत्रकाः ।
ययातेश्च यथा पुत्रा विश्वामित्रसुता यथा ।। —S.N.II. 42

12. यस्मिन् पितुर्भवेत् प्रीतिः स्वय तस्मिन् प्रिय चरेत् ।
यस्मिन् द्वेष पिता कुर्यात् स्वस्यापि द्वेष्य एव सः ।
असमत विरुद्ध वा पितुर्नैव समाचरेत् ।। —S N II. 45

13. प्राप्यापि युवराजत्व प्राप्नुयात् विकृति न च ।
स्वसम्पत्तिमदान्नैव मातर पितर गुरून् ।।
भ्रातर भगिनी वापि अन्यान्वा राजवल्लभान् ।
महाजनास्तथा राष्ट्रे नावमन्येत पीडयेत् ।। —II. 35-36

14. (a) दुष्यन्तश्च ततो राजा पुत्र शाकुन्तल तदा ।
भरत नामत कृत्वा यौवराज्येऽभ्यषेचयत् ।। —Mb.A.P 69-44

(b) अथ कस्यचित् कालस्य तस्या कुमारास्त्रयस्तस्य राज्ञः संबभूवुः । शलो दलो बलश्चेति । ततस्तेषा ज्येष्ठं शलं पिता राज्येऽभिषिच्य तपसि धृतात्मा वन जगाम । —M B Āranyaka, 190-43

15. मुद्रा विनाऽखिल राजकृत्यं कर्तुं क्षम सदा ।
कल्पयेद् युवराजार्थमौरस धर्मपत्निजम् ।। —S.N.II. 14.

16 स्वकनिष्ठ पितृव्य वाऽनुज वाऽग्रजसम्भवम् ।
पुत्र पुत्रीकृत दत्त यौवराज्येऽभिषेचयेत् ।/
क्रमादभावे दौहित्रं स्वस्त्रीय वा नियोजयेत् ।। —S.N. 5-16.

17. युवराजोऽमात्यगणो भुजावेतौ महीभुजः ।
तावेव नयने कर्णौ दक्षसव्यौ क्रमात्स्मृतौ ।। —S.N II. 12

18. परोत्पन्ने स्वपुत्रत्व मत्वा सर्वं ददाति तम् ।
किमाश्चर्यमतो लोके न ददाति यजत्यपि । —S.N. II 34.

19. अगादङ्गात्सम्भवति पुत्रवद् दुहिता नृणाम् ।
पिण्डदाने विशेषो न पुत्रदौहित्रयोस्त्वतः ।। —S.N.II. 32.

CHAPTER VII

1. कुलगुणशीलवृद्धाञ्छूरान् भक्तान्प्रियवदान् ।
हितोपदेशकान्क्लेशसहान् धर्मरतान् सदा ।।
कुमार्गगं नृपमपि बुद्धयोद्धतुं क्षमाञ्छुचीन् ।
निर्मत्सरान्कामक्रोधलोभहीनान्निरालसान् ।।—S.N II 89

2. हीयते कुसहायेन स्वधर्माद् राज्यतो नृप ।
कुकर्मणा प्रनष्टास्तु दितिजा कुसहायत: ।।
नष्टा दुर्योधनाद्यास्तु नृपा शूरा बलाधिका: ।
निरभिमानो नृपति सुसहायो भवेदत ।।—S N II. 10-11

3. नैव जाति नं च कुल केवलं लक्षयेदपि ।
कर्मशीलगुणा पूज्यास्तथा जातिकुले न हि ।
न जात्या न कुलेनैव श्रेष्ठत्वं प्रतिपद्यते ।
विवाहे भोजने नित्य कुलजातिविवेचनम् ।।—S N II. 55-56

4 सत्यवान् गुणसम्पन्नस्तथाऽभिजनवान्धनी ।
सुकुलश्च सुशीलश्च सुकर्मा च निरालस ।
चतुर्गुणेन यत्नेन कायवाङ्मानसेन च ।
भृत्या च तुष्टो मृदुवाक् कार्यदक्ष शुचिर्दृढ: ।।—S.N. II. 57-58

5. शठाश्च कातरा लुब्धा समक्षप्रियवादिन: ।
मत्ता व्यसनिनश्चार्ता उत्कोचेष्टाश्च देविन. ।।
रिपोर्मित्रा सेवकाश्च पूर्ववैरानुबन्धिन: ।
चण्डा: साहसिका धर्महीना नैते सुसेवका ।।—S.N. II 67-69

6 पुरोधाश्च प्रतिनिधि प्रधान. सचिवस्तथा ।
मन्त्री च प्राड्विवाकश्च पण्डितश्च सुमन्त्रक ।।
अमात्यो दूत इत्येते राज्ञ. प्रकृतयो दश ।
दशमाशाधिका पूर्वं दूतान्ता क्रमश स्मृता ।।—S.N II 71-72

7. मन्त्रानुष्ठानसम्पन्नस्त्रैविद्य. कर्मतत्पर. ।
जितेन्द्रियो जितक्रोधो लोभमोहविवर्जित: ।।
नीतिशास्त्रव्यूहादिकुशलस्तु पुरोहित ।
सैवाचार्य: पुरोधा य: शापानुग्रहयो: क्षम: ।।— S.N. II. 78-80

8. कार्याकार्यप्रविज्ञाता स्मृतः प्रतिनिधिस्तु स ।
सर्वदर्शी प्रधानस्तु सेनावित्सचिवस्तथा ॥
मन्त्री तु नीतिकुशलः पण्डितो धर्मतत्ववित् ।
लोकशास्त्रनयज्ञस्तु प्राड् विवाकः स्मृतः सदा ॥
देशकालप्रविज्ञाता ह्यमात्य इति कथ्यते ।
आयव्ययप्रविज्ञाता सुमन्त्रः स च कीर्तित. ।
इङ्गिताकारचेष्टज्ञ स्मृतिमान्देशकालवित् ।
षाड्गुण्यमन्त्रविद्वाग्मी वीतभीर्दूत इष्यते ॥—S.N.II. 84-88

9. The Śukra Nītı, (Englısh Translatıon), Foot Notc No 1, Page No, 9

10. अहित चापि यत्कार्यं सद्य कर्तुं यदुचितम् ।
अकर्तुं यद्धितमपि राज्ञ प्रतिनिधिः सदा ॥
बोधयेत् कारयेत् कुर्यान्न कुर्यान्न प्रबोधयेत् ॥—S.N.II. 89

11. सत्य वा यदि वाऽसत्य कार्यजात च यत्किल ।
सर्वेषा राजकृत्ये प्रधानस्तद्विचिन्त येत् ॥ —S·N· II· 90

12. गजाना च तथाऽश्वाना रथाना पदगामिनाम् ।
सुदृढाना तथोष्ट्राणा वृषाणा सद्य एव हि ॥
वाद्यभाषासु सकेतव्यूहाभ्यसनशालिनाम् ।
प्राक् प्रत्यग्गामिना राज्यचिह्नशस्त्रास्त्रधारिणाम् ॥
परिचारगणाना हीनमध्योत्तमकर्मणाम् ।
अस्त्राणामस्त्रजातीना संघ. स्वतुरगीगणः ।
कार्यक्षमश्च प्राचीनः साद्यस्कः कति विद्यते ।
कार्यासमर्थः कत्यस्ति शस्त्रगोलाग्निचूर्णयुक् ।
सांग्रामिकश्च कत्यस्ति संभारस्तान्विचिन्त्य च ।
सचिवश्चापि तत्कार्यं राज्ञे सम्यग् निवेदयेत् ॥ —S.N.II. 91-95

13. साम दानञ्च भेदश्च दण्ड. केषु कदा कथम् ।
कर्तव्यः किं फल तेभ्यो बहुमध्य तथाऽल्पकम् ॥
एतत् संचिन्त्य निश्चित्य मन्त्री सर्वं निवेदयेत् ।—S.N.II. 96-97

14. साक्षिभिर्लिखितैर्भोगैश्छलैर्भूतैश्च मानुषान् ।
स्वानुत्पादितसंप्राप्तव्यवहारान्विचिन्त्य च ॥

युक्तिप्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमनानैर्लौकिकशास्त्रतः ।
बहुसमतससिद्धान्विनिश्चित्य सभास्थित: ।
ससभ्य: प्राड्विवाकस्तु नृप सबोधयेत् सदा ।।—S.N. II. 98-99

15, वर्तमानाश्च प्राचीना धर्माः के लोकसंश्रिता: ।
शास्त्रेषु के समुद्दिष्टा विरुध्यन्ते च केऽधुना ।।
लोकशास्त्रविरुद्धा. के पण्डितस्तान् विचिन्त्य च ।
नृपं सबोधयेत्तैश्च परत्रेह सुखप्रदै. ।।—S.N.II. 100-102

16. इयच्च सचितं द्रव्य वत्सरेऽस्मिंस्तृणादिकम् ।
व्ययीभूतमियच्चैव शेष स्थावरजङ्गमम् ।
इयदस्तीति वै राज्ञे सुमन्त्रो विनिवेदयेत् ।।—S.N. II. 103

17. पुराणि च कति ग्रामा अरण्यानि च सन्ति हि ।
कर्षिता कति भू. केन प्राप्तो भागस्तत कति ।
भागशेष स्थितं कस्मिन्कत्यकृष्टा च भूमिका ।
अकृष्टपच्य कति च कति चारण्यसंभवम् ।
कति चाकरसजात निधिप्राप्त कतीति च ।
अस्वामिक कति प्राप्तं नाष्टिक तस्कराहृतम ।
सचितं तु विनिश्चित्यामात्यो राज्ञे निवेदयेत् ।।—S.N. II. 104-107

18 इङ्गिताकारचेष्टज्ञ स्मृतिमान् देशकालवित् ।
षाड्गुण्यमन्त्रविद् वाग्मी वीतभीर्दूत इष्यते ।।—S.N.II. 87

19. न बिभेति नृपो येभ्यस्तै स्यात् किं राज्यवर्धनम् ।
यथाऽलङ्कारवस्त्राद्यै स्त्रियो भूष्यास्तथा हि ते ।। —S N.II. 82

20. राज्यं प्रजा बल कोश: सुनृपत्व न वर्धितम् ।
यन्मन्त्रोनारिनाशस्तैर्मन्त्रिभि किं प्रयोजनम् ।।—S.N.II. 83

21. उक्त तल्लिखितै सर्वं विद्यात्तदनुदर्शिभि: ।
परिवर्त्य नृपो ह्येतान्युञ्ज्यादन्योऽन्यकर्मणि ।।
त्रिभिर्वा पञ्चभिर्वापि सप्तभिर्दशभिस्तथा ।
दृष्टवा तत्कार्यकौशल्ये तथा तं परिवर्तयेत् ।।—S.N II. 108-112

22. नाधिकारं चिरं दद्यादृयस्मै कस्मै सदा नृप. ।
अधिकारे क्षमं दृष्ट्वा ह्यधिकारे नियोजयेत् ।

अधिकारमदं पीत्वा को न मुह्येत् पुनश्चिरम् ।
अत कार्यक्षम दृष्ट्वा कार्येऽन्ये त नियोजयेत् ॥—S.N II. 113-114

23. The Śukra Nītı (Englısh Translatıon) foot note No. 3 p. 70

24. त्रिभिर्वा पञ्चभिर्वापि सप्तभिर्दशभिश्च वा ।
दृष्ट्वा तत्कार्यकौशल्ये तथा त परिवर्तयेत् ॥—S N.II 112

25. एकस्मिन्नधिकारे तु पुरुषाणा त्रय सदा ।
नियुञ्जीत प्राज्ञतम मुख्यमेक तु तेषु वै ।
द्वौ दर्शकौ तु तत्कार्ये हायनैस्तन्निवर्तनम् ॥—S N II 110-111

26 बहुसाध्यानि कार्याणि तेषामप्यधिपास्तथा ।
तत्तत्कार्येषु कुशलाञ्ज्ञात्वा तास्तु नियोजयेत् ॥S.N.II. 126

27. यथा यथा श्रेष्ठपदे ह्यधिकारी यदा भवेत् ।
अनुक्रमेण सयोज्यो ह्यन्ते त प्रकृति नयेत् ॥—S.N II. 116-17

28 न कार्यं भृतक कुर्यान्नृपलेखाद्विना क्वचित् ।
नाज्ञापयेल्लेखनेनाविनाऽल्प वा महन्नृप ॥
भ्रान्ते पुरुषधर्मत्वाल्लेख्य निर्णायक परम् ।
अलेख्यमाज्ञापयति ह्यलेख्य यत्करोति य ।
राजकृत्यमुभौ चौरौ तौ भृत्यनृपती सदा ॥
नृपसचिह्नित लेख्य नृपस्तन्न नृपो नृप ॥—S N II. 292-92

29 यथा यथा तु गुणवान्भृतकस्तद्भृतिस्तथा ।
सयोज्या तु प्रयत्नेन नृपेणात्महिताय वै ॥
भृत्याना गृहकृत्यार्थं दिवा याम समुत्सृजेत् ।
निशि यामत्रयं नित्य दिनभृत्येऽर्धयामकम् ।
पादहीनां भृतिं त्वार्ते दद्यात् त्रैमासिकी तत. ।
पञ्चवत्सरभृत्ये तु न्यूनाधिक्य यथा तथा ।
षाण्मासिकी तु दीर्घार्ते तदूर्ध्वं न च कल्पयेत् ।
नैव पक्षार्धमार्तस्य हातव्याऽल्पापि वै भृति ॥—S.N.II. 401, 79, 10

30. सवत्सरोषितस्यापि ग्राह्य. प्रतिनिधिस्तत ।
सुमहद् गुणिन त्वार्तं भृत्यर्धं कल्पयेत्सदा ।
सेवां विना नृपः पक्ष दद्याद् भृत्याय वासरे ॥—S. N. II. 411-12

31. चत्वारिंशत्समा नीता सेवया येन वै नृप ।
तत सेवा विना तस्मै भृत्यर्धं कल्पयेत्सदा ।।—S N II. 413

32. स्वामिकार्ये विनष्टो यस्तत्पुत्रे तद्भृतिं वहेत् ।
यावद् बालोऽन्यथा पुत्रगुणान् दृष्ट्वा भृतिं वहेत् ।।
षष्ठांश वा चतुर्थांश भृतेर्भृत्यस्य पालयेत् ।
दद्यात्तदर्धं भृत्याय द्वित्रिवर्षेऽखिल तु वा ।।—S N II 416-417

33. भृतिदानेन सतुष्टा मानेन परिवर्धिता ।
सान्त्विता मृदुवाचा ये न त्यजन्त्यधिप हि ते ।।—S.N. II. 418-419

34. अधिकारीगणो राजा सद्वृत्तौ यत्र तिष्ठत ।
उभौ तत्र स्थिरा लक्ष्मीर्विपुला सम्मुखी भवेत् ।। —S N II 254

35. सैन्याद् बिना नैव राज्य न धनं न पराक्रम ।।—S.N.IV. 7 4

36. शारीरं हि बल शौर्यबल सैन्यबलं तथा ।
चतुर्थमास्त्रिकबल पञ्चम धीबल स्मृतम् ।
षष्ठमायुर्बल त्वेतैरुपेतो विष्णुरेव स· ।—S N IV. 7 5-6

37. न बलेन विनाप्यल्पं रिपु जेतु क्षमाः सदा ।
देवासुरनरास्त्वन्योपायैर्नित्य भवन्ति हि ।।
बलमेव रिपोर्नित्य पराजयकर परम् ।
तस्माद् बलमभेद्य तु धारयेद्यत्नतो नृप ।।—S N. IV 7. 7-8

38. सेनाबल तु द्विविध स्वीय मैत्र च तद् द्विधा ।
मौलसाद्यस्कभेदाभ्या सारासारं पुनर्द्विधा ।।—S N. IV. 7. 9-10

39. उत्सृष्ट रिपुणा वापि भृत्यवर्गे निवेशितम् ।
भेदाधीन कृत शत्रो सैन्य शत्रुबल स्मृतम् ।
उभय दुर्बल प्रोक्त केवल साधक न तत् ।।—S.N, IV. 7. 16-16

40. समैर्नियुद्धकुशलै र्व्यायामैर्नतिभिस्तथा ।
वर्धयेद् बाहुयुद्धार्थं भोज्यैः शारीरक बलम् ।।
मृगयाभिस्तु व्याघ्राणा शस्त्रास्त्राभ्यासत. सदा ।
वर्धयेच्छरसयोगात् सम्यक् शौर्यबल नृप· ।। - S N IV 7 16-17

41. चतुर्गुण हि पादातमश्वतो धारयेत् सदा ।
पञ्चमाशास्तु वृषभानष्टाशांश्च क्रमेलकान् ।

चतुर्थांशान् गजान् उष्ट्रान् गजार्धांश्च रथान् सदा ।
रथात्तु द्विगुणं राजा बृहन्नालीकमेव च ।
पदातिबहुलं सैन्यं मध्याश्वं तु गजाल्पकम् ।
तथा वृषोष्ट्रसामान्यं रक्षेन्नागाधिकं नहि ।—S. N. IV. 7. 21-23

42. सवय सारवेषोच्चशस्त्रास्त्र तु पृथक् शतम् ।
लघुनालिकयुक्ताना पदातीनां शतत्रयम् ॥
अशीत्यश्वान् रथ चैक बृहन्नालद्वय तथा ।
उष्ट्रान् दश गजौ द्वौ तु शकटौ षोडशर्षभान् ॥
तथा लेखकषट्क हि मन्त्रित्रितयमेव च ।
धारयेन्नृपतिः सम्यग् वत्सरे लक्षकर्षभाक् ॥—S. N. IV. 7. 24-26

43. न चाल्पसाधनो गच्छेदपि जेतुमरिं लघुम् ।
महताऽत्यन्तसाद्यस्कबलेनैव सुबुद्धियुक् ॥
अशिक्षितमसारञ्च साद्यस्कं तूलवच्च तत् ।
युद्धं विनाऽन्यकार्येषु योजयेन्मतिमान् सदा ।
मौलाशिक्षितसारेण गच्छेद् राजा रणे रिपुम् ।
प्राणात्ययेऽपि मौलं न स्वामिनं त्यक्तुमिच्छति ॥—S. N. IV. 7. 177-82

44. बलं यस्य तु सम्भिन्नं मनागपि जय कुतः ।
शत्रो स्वस्यापि सेनाया अतो भेद विचिन्तयेत् ।—S. N. IV. 7. 184

45. वाग्दण्डपरुषेणैव भृतिह्रासेन भीतित· ।
नित्यं प्रवासायासाभ्या भेदोऽवश्य प्रजायते ॥ —S N. IV. 7.183

46. याने सपादभृत्या तु स्वभृत्यान् वर्धयन्नृप, ।
स्वदेहं गोपयेद् युद्धे चर्मणा कवचेन च ॥
पाययित्वा मद सम्यक् सैनिकाञ्छौर्यवर्धनम् ।
उत्तेजितांश्च निर्द्वंधान् भक्तान् युद्धे नियोजयेत् ॥ —S.N. IV. 7.354-55

47. शत्रुसंधानोपायो नान्यः सुबलभेदतः ।
त्यक्तं रिपुबलं धार्यं न समूहसमीपतः ।
पृथङ् नियोजयेत् प्राग्वा युद्धार्थं कल्पयेच्च तत् ॥ —S.N. IV· 7.188-89

48. व्यूहरचनसकेतान् वाद्यभाषासमीरितान् ।
स्वसैनिकैर्विना कोऽपि न जानाति तथाविधान् ॥

नियोजयेच्च मतिमान् व्यूहान्नानाविधान् सदा ।
अश्वाना च गजाना च पदातीना पृथक्-पृथक् ।।
उच्चैः सश्रावयेद् व्यूहसकेतान् सैनिकान्नृप ।
वामदक्षिणसंस्थो वा मध्यस्थो वाऽग्रसस्थित ।। —S N IV. 7 266-69

49. क्षण युद्धाय सज्जेत क्षणं चापसरेत् पुन ।
अकस्मान्निपतेद् दूराद् दस्युवत् परित सदा ।
सैनिकार्थं तु पण्यानि सैन्ये सधारयेत् पृथक् ।
नैकत्र वासयेत् सैन्यं वत्सर तु कदाचन ।
सेनासहस्र सज्ज स्यात् क्षणात् सशासयेत्तथा ।।—S N IV. 7.374, 383-84

50. चण्डत्वमाततायित्व राजकार्ये विलम्बनम् ।
अनिष्टोपेक्षणं राज्ञ स्वधर्मपरिवर्जनम् ।।
त्यजन्तु सैनिका नित्य सलापमपि वाऽपरैः।
नृपाज्ञया विना ग्रामं न विशेयुः कदाचन ।
स्वाधिकारिगणस्यापि ह्यपराध दिशन्तु न ।
मित्रभावेन वर्तध्वं स्वामिकृत्ये सदाऽखिलै ।। —S.N. IV. 7,385-87

51. सैनिकैरभ्यसेन्नित्यं व्यूहाद्यनुकृति नृपः ।
तथाऽयनेऽयने लक्ष्यमस्त्रपातै र्विभेदयेत् ।
साय प्रात सैनिकाना कुर्यात् सङ्गणन नृप ।
जात्याकृतिवयोदेशग्रामवासान् विमृश्य च ।।
कालं भृत्यवधिं देय दत्तं भृत्यस्य लेखयेत् ।
कति दत्तं हि भृत्येभ्यो वेतनं पारितोषिकम् ।।
तत्प्राप्तिपत्रं गृह्णीयाद् दद्याद् वेतनपत्रकम् ।
सैनिकाः शिक्षिता ये ये तेषु पूर्णा भृति स्मृता ।
व्यूहाभ्यासे नियुक्ता ये तेष्वर्धां भृतिमावहेत् ।
असत्कन्त्राश्रितं सैन्यं नाशयेच्छत्रुयोगतः ।। —S.N. IV. 7.390-94

CHAPTER VIII

1 दुष्टनिग्रहण दान प्रजायाः परिपालनम् ।
यजन' राजसूयादे: कोशाना न्यायतोऽर्जनम् ।
करदीकरण राज्ञा रिपूणा परिमर्दनम् ।
भूमेरूपार्जन भूयो राजवृत्तं तु चाष्टधा ।। —S.N I. 123-24

2. न वर्धित बल यैस्तु न भूपा करदीकृता ।
न प्रजा पालिता सम्यक् ते वै षडतिला नृपा. ।। —S.N. I. 125

3. आसमन्ताच्चतुर्दिक्षु सन्निकृष्टाश्च ये नृपाः ।
तत्परास्तत्परा येऽन्ये क्रमाद्धीनबलारय ।। —S N. IV. 120

4. शत्रूदासीनमित्राणि क्रमात्ते स्युस्तु प्राकृता ।
अरिर्मित्रमुदासीनोऽनन्तरस्तत्पर पर: ।।
क्रमशो वा नृपा ज्ञेयाश्चतुर्दिक्षु तथाऽरय ।। —S N IV. 1 21-22

5 सामैव प्रथम श्रेष्ठ दान' तु तदनन्तरम् ।
सर्वथा भेदन शत्रोर्दण्डन प्राणसशये ।। —S.N IV. 1.37

6. साम दानञ्च भेदश्च चतुर्थो दण्ड एव च ।
नीतौ क्रमात् प्रयोज्याश्च देशकालविशेषत ।। —S.P. I. ii. 16.39

7 दण्डश्चापि प्रयोक्तव्यो नित्यकाल दुरात्मसु ।
साम दैत्येषु नैवास्ति निर्गुणत्वात् दुरात्मसु ।। —S P I. ii 16. 41

8. महाभारत, उद्योग पर्व, 48 8-13

9. Sun-Tzu quoted by Hamiet, 'The Home Front', The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, dated 14.8.1963.

10. उद्योग पर्व, 33.43

11. स्कन्द पुराण —VI 269 55

12. नहि सुप्तमृगेन्द्रस्य निपतन्ति गजा मुखे । —S N. IV. 7.239

13. सदुपायै. सन्मन्त्रै कार्यसिद्धिरथोद्यमै. ।
भवेदल्पजनस्यापि किं पुनर्नृपते नहि ।। —S.N. IV. 7 292

14. अयो भेद्यमुपायेन द्रवतामुपनीयते ।
लोकप्रसिद्धमेवैतत् वारि वह्नेर्नियामकम् ।।
उपायोपगृहीतेन तेनैतत् परिशोष्यते ।
उपायेन पद मूर्ध्नि न्यस्यते मत्तहस्तिनाम् ।। —S.N. IV. 7.294-95

15 सन्धिञ्च विग्रहं यानमासन च समाश्रयम् ।
द्वैधीभाव च सविद्यान्मंत्रस्यैतास्तु षड्गुणान् ।। —S N. IV 7 232

16 याभि क्रियाभिर्बलवान् मित्रता याति वैरिषु ।
सा क्रिया सन्धिरित्युक्ता विमृशेत् ता तु यत्नत ।।
विकर्षित सन् वाऽधीनो भवेच्छत्रुस्तु येन वै ।।
कर्मणा विग्रहस्त तु चिन्तयेन्मन्त्रिभिर्नृप ।
शत्रुनाशार्थगमन यान स्वाभीष्टसिद्धये ।
स्वरक्षणं शत्रुनाशो भवेत् स्थानात्तदासनम् ।
यै गुप्तो बलवान् भूयाद् दुर्बलोऽपि स आश्रय ।
द्वैधीभाव स्वसैन्याना स्थापन गुल्मगुल्मयो ।। —S N IV. 7 233-234

17 बलीयसाभियुक्तस्तु नृपो ऽनन्यप्रतिक्रिय ।
आपन्न: सन्धिमन्विच्छेत् कुर्वाण कालयापनम् ।। —S.N. IV. 7.237

18. एक एवोपहारस्तु सन्धिरेष मतो हित ।
अभियोक्ता बलीयस्त्वादलब्ध्वा न निवर्तते ।
उपहाराद्ऋते यस्मात् सन्धिरन्यो न विद्यते ।। —S N. IV. 7 239

19 शत्रोर्बलानुसारेण उपहार प्रकल्पयेत् ।
सेवा वाऽपि च स्वीकुर्याद् दद्यात् कन्या भुवं धनम् ।। —S.N. IV 7 240

20 स्वसामन्ताश्च सन्धीयान् मन्त्रेणान्यजयाय वै ।
सन्धि कार्योऽप्यनार्येण सम्प्राप्योत्सादयेद्धि स. ।। —S N IV. 7.241

21. सङ्घातवान् यथा वेणुर्निबिडै कण्टकैर्वृतः ।
न शक्यते समुच्छेत्तु राजा सङ्घातवास्तथा ।। —S N. IV. 7.242

22. राजा न गच्छेद् विश्वास सन्धितोऽपि हि बुद्धिमान् ।
अद्रोहसमय कृत्वा वृत्रमिन्द्र पुराऽवधीत् ।। —S.N. IV. 7 247

23. बलिना सह योद्धव्यमिति नास्ति निदर्शनम् ।
प्रतिवात हि न घन कदाचिदपि सर्पति ।। —S N IV 7 245

24. बलीयसि प्रणमता काले विक्रमतामपि ।
सम्पदो न विसर्पन्ति प्रतीपमिव निम्नगा ।
बलीयसाऽत्यल्पबल: शूरेण न च विग्रहम् ।
कुर्याद्धि विग्रहे पुंसा सर्वनाश: प्रजायते ।। —S.N. 7.246, 251

25. आपन्नो ऽभ्युदयाकाङ्क्षी पीड्यमान· परेण वा।
देशकालबलोपेत प्रारभेत च विग्रहम् ॥ —S N. IV 7.248

26. विगृह्य सधाय तथा संभूयाथ प्रसङ्गत: ।
उपेक्षया च निपुणैर्यानं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम् ॥ —S N IV. 7 253

27. विगृह्य याति हि यदा सर्वाञ्छत्रुगणान् बलात् ।
विगृह्य यान यानज्ञैस्तदाचार्यैं प्रचक्ष्यते ।।—S. N IV 7. 254

28 सन्धायान्यत्र यात्राया पार्ष्णिग्राहेण शत्रुणा ।
सन्धाय गमन प्रोक्तं तज्जिगीषो फलार्थिन. ।।—S. N. IV 7. 256

29. एको भूपो यदैकत्र सामन्तै सांपरायिकैं ।
शक्तिशौर्ययुतैर्यानं सभूय गमन हि तत् ॥—S N. IV. 7 57

30. अन्यत्र प्रस्थित सङ्गादन्यत्रैव च गच्छति ।
प्रसङ्गयान तत् प्रोक्त यानविद्भिश्च मन्त्रिभि ।।—S.N IV. 7 258

31. रिपुं यातस्य बलिन सम्प्राप्य विकृत फलम् ।
उपेक्ष्य तस्मिन् तद्यानमुपेक्षायानमुच्यते ।।—S N IV. 7 259

32. यन्त्रास्त्रै: शत्रुसेनाया भेदो येभ्य प्रजायते ।
स्थलेभ्यस्तेषु सन्तिष्ठेत् ससैन्यो ह्यासन हि तत् ।।—S N. IV. 7. 284

33. तृणान्नजलसभारा ये चान्ये शत्रुपोषका ।
सम्यङ् निरूध्य तान् यत्नात् परितश्चिरमासनात् ।।
विच्छिन्नविविधासार प्रक्षीणयवसेन्धनम् ।
विगृह्यमानप्रकृति कालेनैव वश नयेत् ।।—S N. IV. 7 285-86

34. उच्छिद्यमानो बलिना निरूपायप्रतिक्रिय ।
कुलोद्भवं सत्यमार्यमाश्रयेत बलोत्कटम् ।।—S N. IV. 7' 288

35. अनिश्चितोपायकार्यं समयानुचरो नृप. ।
द्वैधीभावेन वर्तेत काकाक्षिवदलक्षितम् ।
प्रदर्शयेदन्यकार्यमन्यमालम्बयेच्च वा ॥ -S. N. IV 7 291

36. सन्धिश्चातिबले युद्ध साम्ये यान तु दुर्बले ।
सुहृद्भिराश्रय: स्थानं दुर्गादिभजनं द्विधा ।।—S N, IV. 7. 293

37. सुहृत्सम्बन्धिस्त्रीपुत्रप्रजाशत्रुषु ते पृथक् ।
सामदानभेददण्डाश्चिन्तनीया: स्वयुक्तित ।।—S. N. IV. 1. 26

38. मित्रं शत्रु यथायोग्यै: कुर्यात् स्ववशवर्तिनम् ।
उपायेन यथा व्यालो गज: सिंहोऽपि साध्यते ।।—S. N. IV. 1. 24

39. परस्परमर्निष्टं न चिन्तनीयं त्वया मया ।

सुसहाय्यं हि कर्त्तव्यं शत्रौ साम प्रकीर्तितम् ।।—S N. IV. 1. 31

40. करैर्वा प्रमितैग्रामैर्वत्सरे प्रबल रिपुम् ।
तोषयेद् तद्धि दान स्याद्यथा योग्येषु शत्रुषु ।।—S. N. IV. 1. 32

41 शत्रुसाधकहीनत्वकरणात् प्रबलाश्रयात् ।
तद्धीनतोज्जीवनाच्च शत्रुभेदनमुच्यते ।।—S. N IV 1. 33

42. दस्युभि· पीडन· शत्रोः कर्षण धनधान्यतः ।
तच्छिद्रदर्शनादुग्रबलैर्नीत्या प्रभीषणम् ।।
प्राप्तयुद्धानिवृत्तित्वत्रासन दण्ड उच्यते ।।—S N. IV 1. 34

43. सर्वोपायैस्तथा कुर्यान्नीतितः पृथिवीपतिः ।
यथा स्वाभ्यधिका न स्युर्मित्रोदासीनशत्रवः ।।—S. N. IV. 1. 36

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सर्वदा भेदन· शत्रोर्दण्डन· प्राणसशये ।।
प्रबलेऽरौ सामदाने सामभेदावधिके स्मृतौ ।
भेददण्डौ समे कार्यौ दण्ड पूज्यः प्रहीनके ।
मित्रे च सामदाने स्तो नो कदा भेददण्डने ।
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यथा हि शत्रुसेनाया भेदोऽवश्य भवेत्तथा ।
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   (b) C. F Talking of the qualities enumerated above, I say that a prince should have reputation for compassion rather than for cruelty, nonetheless, he should be careful that he does not make bad use of compassion N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*. p.95

3. न्यायप्रवृत्तो नृपतिरात्मानमथ च प्रजा ।
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4. यो हि धर्मपरो राजा देवाशोऽन्यश्च रक्षसाम । —S N I 7S

5 नृपस्य परमो धर्म. प्रजाना परिपालनम् ।
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8. अधर्म. क्षत्रियस्यैष यच्छय्यामरण भवेत् ।
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9 मद्यप कितव: स्तेनो जारश्चण्डश्च हिंसक: ।
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